

Kleitias, Dionysos, and Cheiron

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In memory of Dietrich von Bothmer

Abstract

Dionysos and Cheiron are the most important guests in the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis on the François Vase. Dionysos has been described as stumbling, turbulent, seeking sympathy, or burdened by the amphora. He is none of these. He is in perfect balance and looks out to draw attention to his gift for Thetis, the golden vessel that will contain the ashes of Patroklos and Achilles. It is not a burden and it does not rest on his shoulder, but hangs part way down his back. Cheiron's branch is not a fir, but the ash he gave to Peleus that became the spear Achilles took to Troy. Only these guests bring gifts, each of enormous importance for the offspring of this marriage. Kleitias' depiction of them has no equal.

The François Vase signed by Ergotimos as potter and by Kleitias as painter is one of the most famous of all Greek vases, widely admired not only for the perfection of its shape, but especially for its exquisite ornamental and figural decoration (fig. 1).¹ Although the known output of Kleitias is rather small, each vase is a masterpiece. He is a serious artist, whose subjects are often innovative or unusual, and sometimes he illustrates the moment in a myth that refers to the past as well as to the future. Kleitias is particularly attentive to precise details that enhance his stories; his figures are elegantly dressed and their gestures always have meaning.² As Beazley succinctly put it: his figures are 'precise, angular and keen, nearly all identified by inscriptions'.³

The François Vase depicts more mythological subjects than any other Greek vase.⁴ Foremost among them is the majestic illustration of the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis painted in the main frieze encircling the vase. All of the Olympians are present as well as lesser deities. Dionysos and Cheiron, the two most important guests, appear at the head of the procession on the front of the krater and are the subject of this article. I shall begin with Dionysos, the guest who has received the most attention since the vase was excavated in 1845.⁵

DIONYSOS

'Dionysos is different' A. Henrichs wrote in his essay for the catalogue of an exhibition held at the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard University from December 10, 1979 to February 10, 1980.⁶ In Attic

black-figured vase painting, there is no image of Dionysos more memorable than this one (figs 1-2). He appears in the center of the composition on the obverse of the krater and he is not overlapped by the figures to either side, all of whom are densely grouped. A. Stewart was the first to realize Dionysos not only stands in the center of the main frieze, but also on the vertical axis of the vase. In other words, Dionysos appears where the horizontal axis crosses the vertical one and he also provides the visual link between the chariot



Fig. 1. Attic black-figured volute-krater signed by Ergotimos as potter and by Kleitias as painter, ca 570 BC. Side A (whole). Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4209. H. 66.0 cm (photo museum).



Fig. 2. Detail of Florence 4209. Side A: Dionysos (photo museum).

race at the Funeral Games for Patroklos in the frieze above the Wedding and the Pursuit of Troilos in the one below.⁷

Dionysos' luxuriant hair and beard are carefully combed, and he wears a long chiton decorated with saltire squares that alternate with solid red ones and has a lower border of saltire squares within a meander pattern framed above and below by a row of white dots; Kleitias even included this border on the *inside* of the garment on the far side (fig. 2). A white cloak hangs down over both shoulders of the god, leaving his forearms free. Dionysos moves to right, staring out at the viewer; his shoulders and torso are frontal, his legs in profile. His left leg is forward and bent at the knee, the foot flat on the ground; his right leg is back and today the foot is missing but from what remains it is likely the heel was raised and only the ball and toes of it touched the ground. Dionysos' right arm is bent sharply at the elbow, his hand empty. With his raised left hand he grasps the handle of a magnificent ovoid neck amphora,⁸ and holds a grape vine as well. Incised lines separate each part of the vase: mouth, neck, shoulder, and foot. On the neck, Kleitias incised a pattern called SOS (see below). In addition there are two more lines on the body midway between the neck and the foot. The effect is spare, elegant and precise. In the space between the god's cloak and the Horai behind him, his name is written vertically

in precise letters: DIONYSOS, retrograde.

There is general agreement about the appearance of Dionysos and his dress, but there are different interpretations about the god's pose, his frontal face, and the neck-amphora. I shall review the major opinions about each of these details, then offer a few observations and suggestions for what Kleitias may have had in mind when he combined all three in one unforgettable depiction.

In 1904, A. Furtwängler described Dionysos as striding out ('weit ausschreitend'). Almost fifty years later Beazley remarked that he 'hastens, almost stumbles forward.' Ten years after this B. Shefton wrote: 'Then comes Dionysos staggering under the load.' In 1976 E. Simon thought Dionysos 'schreitet nicht feierlich wie die anderen, sondern stürmt heran.'⁹ Other scholars weighed in, often at greater length. Stewart believed that Dionysos 'though heavily burdened by the great amphora on his shoulder (notice how he buckles at the knees) and no doubt anxious to reach his goal, pauses to look out directly towards us.' D. Williams claimed that 'Kleitias intends to show Dionysos coming to the feast with both the vine and its product - in particular the Attic variety. (He may already have had a drink or two himself on the way, hence his peculiar gait and his lack of concern over any possible spillage.)' T. Carpenter wrote that 'The god is singled out by his rapid motion.' Henrichs chimed in that: 'The sight of a Dionysos who is nimble and fast-moving despite the weight that he carries is so unusual that it calls for an explanation,' then in an endnote: 'Dionysos' pose, at least from the waist down, resembles that of the dancing komasts on a kylix by the KY Painter circa 580 BC'¹⁰ and 'it is significant that Dionysos' pose is more animated than that of the other gods, whose movements are calm and controlled.' Y. Korshak repeated what Beazley wrote, but remarked that 'since he [Dionysos] does not seem to feel the amphora as heavy, his posture may be a reflection of the dance often seen among satyrs in his train.' In two publications C. Isler-Kerényi described his pose as turbulent. A. Schwarzmaier thought Dionysos was drunk on the wine he brings to the festivities.¹¹

This is a wide range of descriptions to interpret the pose of one figure: Dionysos moves quickly, he is greatly burdened by the weight of the amphora, he stumbles, he staggers, he may be drunk, he dances, or he pauses in mid-step. Obviously, not all of the interpretations can be correct, but if one considers how logical Kleitias is with regard to his figures and details, most of these options may be eliminated. Dionysos is preceded and fol-



Fig. 3. Attic black-figured amphora Type A (special model) attributed to the Amasis Painter, ca 530 B.C. Side B: Dionysos and satyrs. Würzburg, University, Martin von Wagner Museum 265. H. 37.5 cm (after JHS 19, 1890, pl. V).

lowed by participants in the procession who walk slowly in a stately manner; thus, if he is moving forward quickly, he will have nowhere to go. As we shall see, he is not encumbered by the amphora. Nor does he stumble, because he has not lost his balance, i.e. his center of gravity is well within his body. If one drops a plumb line from the center of his throat, it falls about midway between his feet (allowing for the suggestion made above that the heel of his missing right foot was raised and just the ball and toes of it touched the ground). Nor is he dancing, because if he were, one leg would be raised with the knee bent and the foot off the ground, the other leg weight-bearing.¹² For Dionysos dancing accompanied by satyrs and maenads, see Copenhagen inv. 5179 by the Heidelberg Painter, dating about 560 BC. T. Carpenter called him drunken in this scene, which he may be.¹³ He is the most animated figure, boisterous and uninhibited. Another example of Dionysos dancing and perhaps a little inebriated occurs on the reverse of the famous amphora in Würzburg by the Amasis Painter dating about 530 BC. In this scene Dionysos moves to left, looking down at his kantharos which is about to be filled with wine from a skin held by a satyr looking out at the viewer. The god appears unsteady (fig. 3).¹⁴ These two images of Dionysos are completely different in pose and demeanor from the one by Kleitias on the François Vase. There, he is imposing, dignified, and in perfect control. He cannot be considered even the slightest bit tipsy as Williams implied, nor is he drunk as Schwarz-



Fig. 4. Attic black-figured column-krater attributed to Lydos, ca. 550 B.C. Detail of the Return of Hephaistos: satyr. H. 55.9-56.4 cm (photo The Metropolitan Museum of Art 311.11.11, Fletcher Fund).

maier thought. Furthermore, dancers usually look where they are going (see the Athenian youths and maidens rescued from the Minotaur by Theseus depicted on the upper section of the neck on Side B of the krater).¹⁵ I think Stewart is correct that Dionysos pauses momentarily. The god's pose is usually referred to as a 'Knielauf', a word that does not seem to have a convenient English equivalent, and it may have different meanings depending on the context. The simplest explanation is that the figure moves very fast, running or flying. The Gorgon painted on each handle of the François Vase just above the rim appears to be running or, because her feet do not touch ground, flying over the sea simulated by the wine in the krater.¹⁶ Another interpretation of this pose is that the person lifts someone, a good example being Ajax rising with the body of Achilles, also painted on each handle of the vase, two of the earliest representations of this subject in vase painting.¹⁷ A third reading is that this pose allows the figure to be larger than the space available. On the column-krater by Lydos in the Metropolitan Museum dating about 550 BC, the satyr behind Hephaistos who looks out at the viewer, his knees bent sharply, is taller than the height of the frieze (fig. 4).¹⁸ Kleitias understood the various meanings of this pose and I think the last is what he intended. Were Dionysos to stand up straight he would be quite a bit taller than the other figures in the procession and his head would overlap the tongue pattern (figs 1-2). He also looks larger than the figures in front and in back of him not only because

his torso is in front view, but also because of his long stride. In other words, Dionysos takes up more space than any other individual human figure in this procession.

Less has been written about Dionysos's frontal face than about his pose (*fig. 2*). Furtwängler was the first to describe it, remarking that it recalls the masks which were the customary form of honoring the god in Attika in an earlier time.¹⁹ Beazley made a point relevant to this article when he wrote: 'In archaic painting the frontal face is not used haphazard. The god here, feeling the weight and the effort, turns towards the spectator, almost as if for sympathy, a contrast to the easy, unconscious bearing of the other deities.' Shefton noted the god's frontal face as well as its mask-like character and repeated Beazley's interpretation that Dionysos seems to be seeking sympathy, and Simon also described the mask-like character of his face. Carpenter remarked: 'It has been argued that it [the frontal face] is intended to have apotropaic power' also that its purpose is 'to attract our interest or sympathy. ... The Muse [Kalliope] plays her syrinx, Dionysos, perhaps, makes us smile.' Isler-Kerényi merely mentioned that the frontal face and torso are strikingly new and later wrote that Dionysos 'is turning, not towards Peleus but towards whoever, from the outside, is looking at the image ... that his face becomes a mask and, in this way, introduces into the figure and into the whole image a strongly static element.' Most recently, Schwarzmaier wrote that the frontal face of Dionysos indicates he is drunk on his own gift (i.e., the wine in the neck-amphora).²⁰

The god's face indeed has a mask-like, apotropaic quality as he stares straight out at the viewer, but this may not necessarily be what Kleitias intended, especially because the first known representations of the Dionysos masks are much later.²¹ Beazley's observation, 'In archaic painting the frontal face is not used haphazard,' deserves more discussion than it has received. Frontal faces appear on very specific occasions and they are intended to draw attention to the person.²² As for Kleitias' figure of Dionysos, I doubt he is hoping for sympathy as Beazley suggested, followed by Shefton. It would be most unlikely an Olympian ever needs sympathy for anything and the god's demeanor does not suggest stress of any kind. Nor is there a static element in his appearance as Isler-Kerényi believed. He will soon move along with the rest of the guests.

Kleitias emphasized Dionysos by placing him in the center of the frieze on the front of the



Fig. 5. Detail of Florence 4209. Side B: the Return of Hephaistos: Dionysos and Silenos (photo museum).

krater. The god does not move rapidly, he does not stumble and he is not inebriated. Rather, he is in perfect balance and, as Stewart recognized, Dionysos pauses momentarily to look out at the viewer.²³ He is not overlapped by the goddesses in front or in back of him. The god's position and his frontal face emphasize his importance in this procession. In other words, Dionysos draws attention to himself in a strong, but silent manner. He is a truly haunting figure, memorable and mesmerizing. The question is why? The answer may be found by examining the neck-amphora he carries and understanding its meaning in this context. This vase is very elegant and metallic-looking (*fig. 2*), just as the hydriai are in the Pursuit of Troilos and also the prize cauldrons in the Games for Patroklos (*fig. 1*).²⁴ Much attention has been given to this vessel going all the way back to the earliest publication.

DIONYSOS' AMPHORA

In 1848, in his general description of the François Vase, G. Dennis simply mentioned 'Dionysos bearing an *amphora* on his shoulders' and in 1849, E. Braun called it an amphora full of wine. Furtwängler described the neck-amphora on the god's back as heavy-looking because it is filled with wine.²⁵ Beazley wrote that the god was 'holding an amphora full of wine on his shoulder' for the wedding feast, adding that it was a burden causing him to turn toward the spectator.²⁶ A. Rumpf, in his review of the 1951 edition of J.D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-figure*, was the first author to suggest that the amphora carried by Dionysos was the famous golden one he gave to

Thetis.²⁷ Rumpf rejected the traditional interpretation of this amphora as a container for wine, noting that wine for hauling long distance was transported in skins, as in the Return of Hephaistos (*fig. 5*), and if the vessel on the François Vase contained wine, it should be held vertically not at an incline of 55 degrees.²⁸ A. Minto thought Dionysos held the amphora on his shoulder and it was filled with wine. Shefton agreed with Rumpf: it is 'the golden amphora, his gift to Thetis on his [Dionysos'] shoulder' and Shefton was the first to describe 'the neck with two concentric circles flanked by two vertical wiggly lines on either side ... a type known from examples in clay as an SOS amphora, so called after the neck ornament.' Simon thought the vase was filled with wine. With little ado, J. Boardman simply wrote that the golden amphora 'should be the vase carried by Dionysos in the centre of the main frieze of the François Vase, being brought to Thetis on the morning after her wedding.'²⁹ Stewart also called it the golden amphora and added that since it is 'conspicuously lacking a lid, and carried at a steep angle, it cannot be full of wine without severely imperiling the integrity of Dionysos' carefully braided coiffure.' Carpenter questioned Rumpf's interpretation, described the amphora as on the god's shoulder and thought it is 'simply part of Kleitias' emphasis on the importance of wine,' then noted it 'interrupts the line of glaze at the top of the frieze.' With characteristic certainty, Williams rejected Rumpf's suggestion that this is the golden amphora and that 'given the "SOS" decoration of the neck', claimed it simply contained wine for the wedding feast.³⁰ G. Schaus wrote that Dionysos 'balances the heavy amphora on his *right* shoulder using his *left* hand' (my italics). This would be quite a feat of dexterity and actually is impossible because the god's long hair hanging down his back and the white cloak covering his right shoulder overlap the foot and lower part of the vase. The amphora does not rest on the god's shoulder; it hangs down his back (*fig. 2* and see below). Henrichs wrote that 'Dionysos carries a heavy burden on his shoulder: a large amphora apparently filled with wine,' and a little further on 'the amphora and its contents are not merely an unconventional attribute of the wine-god; they are a wedding gift ... Dionysos' gift to Thetis.' In his text, Henrichs stopped short of calling the vessel the golden amphora, but in an endnote wrote: 'I doubt (pace Schaus, Carpenter, and Williams, *supra*, note 12) that the decoration as such and its conventional association with storage vessels are sufficient to dissociate this amphora from its

famous counterpart.' Korshak believed this is the golden amphora, but remarked that Dionysos looks far less burdened than the satyr lugging the full wineskin in the Return of Hephaistos (*fig. 5*). Isler-Kerényi mentioned that Dionysos shoulders the amphora and it extends above the border of the frieze, and in a later publication: 'On his shoulder, Dionysos is carrying an amphora,' but she did not call it the golden amphora. J. Gaunt thought it was the golden amphora and wrote that 'Dionysos ... presented it to Thetis on the occasion of her wedding.'³¹

Stewart mentioned the SOS on the neck, but refrained from elaborating on the type of storage amphora that gets its name from these letters.³² Schaus summarized the various opinions about this vase and wrote: 'It is at least odd that the artist clearly represents a very plain and common SOS amphora' then noted that metal examples of the shape are so far unknown. Giuliani agreed with Schaus and wrote that no one could possibly doubt that Dionysos hurries to the celebration with a clay amphora full of wine.³³ The SOS amphora has a heavy mouth and a narrow neck, a broad shoulder, and a body that tapers sharply to a small foot that is hardly weight-bearing. It is a clumsy-looking vessel, an unworthy present for any occasion, least of all this important one.³⁴ The SOS amphora has none of the balanced proportions, crisp contours and restrained linear decoration that Dionysos' amphora has. Furthermore, the SOS pattern may simply have been decoration used on this occasion by Kleitias and has nothing whatsoever to do with the storage amphora. There is every reason to think that in this scene Kleitias had in mind a metal vessel. Schaus remarked that 'on the François Vase, the amphora carried by Dionysos has been painted with virtually no decoration, only several double lines; yet Kleitias was willing to spend great effort in decorating the dresses of the female figures in the procession. This paradox must be explained by those who wish to identify the golden amphora in this scene.'³⁵ One explanation is that actual metal vessels without figures and with only minimal patterned decoration gain in beauty because they have smooth shiny surfaces that are very attractive, especially those made of gold, silver or bronze, and metal is what Kleitias had in mind when he painted this vessel as well as the prizes in the Funeral Games for Patroklos and the hydriai in the Pursuit of Troilos (*fig. 1*).

Other details support the interpretation that this is the golden amphora and it does not contain wine. To begin with, even though Dionysos is the



Fig. 6. Fragment of an Attic red-figured oinochoe attributed to Myson, ca 490 BC. Youth carrying a pointed storage amphora. Athens, the Athenian Agora P 25965. P.H. 12.3 cm (photo: Athens, The American School of Classical Studies, Agora Excavations).

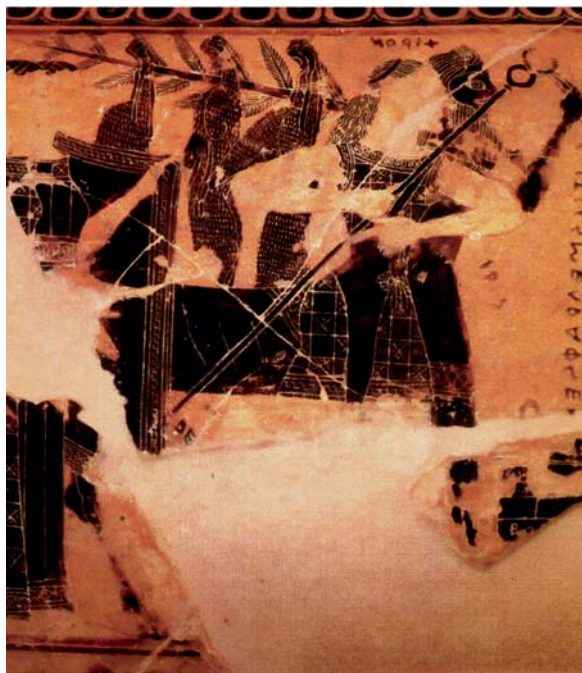


Fig. 7. Detail of Florence 4209. Side A: Cheiron (photo museum).

god of wine, why would he bring wine to this feast? Food as well as drink should be supplied by the host and the god's gift should go to the bride not to the celebratory feast.³⁶ More to the point is how Dionysos holds the vessel. With the

exception of Furtwängler,³⁷ those who have commented on the vase write that the god holds it *on* his shoulder, but a closer look indicates this is not the case. As noted above, it actually *hangs down* his back a little bit and neither shoulder is weight-bearing. This would be the logical manner in which to carry such a large vessel when it is empty, or else hanging down alongside the bearer and held by one handle.³⁸ Dionysos holds the vase effortlessly, he is not encumbered by it in the least, and enough of it is visible for the viewer to admire the skill that went into fashioning it. Rumpf indicated that if the amphora contained wine, its diagonal pitch might lead to spillage if it did not have a stopper and Schaus noted: 'Transport amphoras being carried almost horizontally are occasionally depicted on Attic vases but without any visible lid or stopper, yet they are apparently full of wine (Plate 3).'³⁹ Unfortunately he chose to illustrate one of the few examples where such an amphora has a stopper. This occurs on a fragmentary oinochoe in the Athenian Agora attributed to Myson, a mannerist painter working in the early 5th century BC (fig. 6).⁴⁰ A komast bends forward under the weight of a heavy pointed amphora balanced on his left shoulder and steadied with his left hand. Each handle of the vase attaches to the side of the mouth and a line of glaze clearly separates the mouth from the stopper.

Homer tells us Hephaistos made the golden amphora and gave it to Dionysos, who then presented it to Thetis and later it was used to contain the ashes of Patroklos and Achilles. Unfortunately, Homer does not say what the occasion for the gift was,⁴¹ but an anonymous scholiast to Homer (*Iliad* 23.92) writes that the lyric poet Stesichoros informs us: 'When Dionysus had entertained Hephaestus on his arrival in Naxos, one of the Cyclades, he received from him the gift of a golden urn. Later, when he was pursued by Lycurgus and took refuge in the sea, Thetis gave him a kindly welcome, and he gave her the amphora, Hephaestus' handiwork. She gave it to her son, so that when he died his bones might be put in it. The story is told by Stesichoros.'⁴² These sources agree that Hephaistos made the amphora and gave it to Dionysos who later presented it to Thetis; Stesichoros adds that this took place at her home under the sea, an occasion preceding her marriage to Peleus. I think Rumpf and his followers are correct. The neck-amphora Dionysos carries represents the golden amphora he gave to Thetis, but Kleitias changed the venue for the gift in order to emphasize its great importance later on (see below).

CHEIRON

Besides Dionysos, only one other figure in this procession carries a gift. This is Cheiron who shoulders a branch from which game is suspended (*fig. 7*). His name appears above his head: CHIRON, retrograde. The author of the *Cypria* says that 'For at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis the gods gathered on Pelion to feast, and brought gifts for Peleus, and Chiron cut down a fine ash and gave it to him for a spear. They say that Athena planed it and Hephaestus fashioned it. With this spear Peleus was supreme in battle, and afterwards Achilles.'⁴³ No other gifts are described in this passage.⁴⁴ There is debate about what kind of branch Cheiron carries and what sort of game hangs from it. Furtwängler described it as a pine branch and the game as two hares and a deer. Beazley called it 'a fir-branch, with two hares tied to it, and another animal.' Minto also thought it was the branch of a fir tree. Simon opted for a pine or a spruce branch with wild beasts.⁴⁵ Stewart offered a much more plausible identification of the branch. It is not a fir branch, but 'the original branch from which this spear [the ash spear] was cut.'⁴⁶ This ash spear was a very special weapon that only Peleus and later Achilles were capable of handling, as Homer relates on two occasions when he describes the spear as 'heavy and huge and strong.'⁴⁷

Since Dionysos and Cheiron are the only two guests who bear gifts, each present should be very significant. Just as the golden amphora reminds the viewer of its later use, the branch which will be made into the ash spear does the same for the future prowess of Achilles, and the dead game hanging from it may allude to the flesh of wild animals that nourished young heroes, including Achilles.⁴⁸ Furthermore, as R. Shannon explained, 'the ash spear is both an expression of Achilles' exceptional strength and a reaffirmation of his connection with his mortal parent ... descriptions of the spear clearly indicate that it was a separate piece given Peleus by Cheiron and not a part of the armor given him by the gods as a wedding gift' and 'the spear [is] the only piece of the original armor not replaced by Hephaistos'; thus it takes on great significance when Achilles kills Hektor with it.⁴⁹

A fir branch has no relevance in this scene by Kleitias, but an ash branch does. Cheiron carries a strong limb cut from a large tree, or perhaps it is the trunk of a young tree. In any case it does not bend under the weight of the dead game. Thick foliage grows from it and, if one looks care-

fully, one can observe where some of the smaller twigs have already been snapped off the limb (these are indicated by semi-circular incisions).⁵⁰ Compare this branch with the grape vine held by Dionysos which sags slightly in response to the bunches of grapes hanging from it (*fig. 2*). Kleitias made a clear distinction between the two plants, a pliant grape vine and a strong ash branch resistant to any weight.⁵¹

As Furtwängler noticed,⁵² the branch carried by Cheiron is similar to branches used by the centaurs. Presumably, he meant those in the lower zone of the neck on the reverse of the François Vase, which depicts Lapiths fighting Centaurs. But these branches look very generic and stylized,⁵³ completely different from Cheiron's branch and the realistic neck-amphora held by Dionysos, also the hydriai in the Pursuit of Troilos, which imitate actual examples in metal that Kleitias could have observed. The branches wielded by the fighting centaurs on the François Vase look very flimsy compared with the thick branch shouldered by Cheiron, and one branch even divides into two limbs which might cause it to be unwieldy and less effective in battle. Furthermore, the lower half of each has no foliage, suggesting it has been trimmed.⁵⁴ Branches carried by centaurs in general and by Cheiron in particular vary considerably. Often the secondary limbs growing from them are not close together and the foliage is sparse, usually just a dot for each leaf. These branches look more like attributes than weapons. I have not been able to find other depictions of centaurs carrying branches similar in any way to those by Kleitias, especially Cheiron's.⁵⁵ The foliage on Cheiron's branch is dense and lush, and the shaft is thick, straight, and sturdy-looking (*fig. 7*).

Distinguishing species of trees, whether deciduous or coniferous, is often difficult for someone who is not a botanist. Without careful study, the leaves of many deciduous trees look quite alike to an untrained eye and so do the needles of conifers. It might be expecting too much that Kleitias would try to replicate the branch and foliage of an actual ash tree. Most trees in Greek vase painting are difficult to identify as to kind. An exception is the stately and highly individualized palm tree and perhaps Apollo's laurel if he is present in the scene. It is more likely that Kleitias simply wanted to depict a sturdy branch capable of being crafted into a mighty spear worthy of Peleus and later of Achilles and in his rendering he was completely successful (*fig. 7*). The shaft of Cheiron's branch looks unyielding, strong and

heavy, just as Homer described it;⁵⁶ planed by Athena and tipped with a bronze head fashioned by Hephaistos, it would be a formidable weapon against any opponent brazen enough to challenge the bearer. Interpreting Cheiron's branch as the limb of an ash tree makes sound iconographical sense, since both it and the golden amphora have a very special meaning for the son born from this marriage. G. Nagy made the important observation that 'the spear of Achilles is a theme that reaffirms the hero's connection with his mortal father, just as the rest of his armor connects him with his immortal mother.'⁵⁷ One can make exactly the same case for the golden amphora: it too connects Achilles and Thetis. Thus, both gifts have great meaning for the offspring of this marriage.

CONCLUSION

Kleitias opted to include the two gifts most important to the bride, her groom and their son: the ash branch shouldered by Cheiron which will become the famous spear and the golden amphora carried by Dionysos. These two presents occur together only on the François Vase and not only do they emphasize the significance of the occasion, but also they remind us that while Achilles is fearless in battle and doomed to die young, the golden amphora assures his immortality.⁵⁸ Kleitias deviates from the story of the golden amphora as told by Stesichoros, but he might have known a different version that has not survived or perhaps he chose to indulge in an artistic license, just as he probably did in the scene of chariot race at the Funeral Games for Patroklos (*fig. 1*).⁵⁹ The chariot race is the most exciting of all the events and it takes up most of Homer's description of them. To the extent possible in the black-figured technique, Kleitias captured the speed, energy and excitement of the race even if he did not follow the names of the participants given by Homer, but, as Beazley noted, the poet gave all of them 'good heroic names.'⁶⁰ Positioning Dionysos holding the golden amphora below the scene of the chariot race at the Funeral Games for Patroklos and above the Pursuit of Troilos, a glorious moment for Achilles even though it foreshadows his demise later in the war, would vividly remind the viewer of the frailty of human life and that even the most stalwart heroes are not exempt from early deaths. The perceptive observer would have recognized the subtlety of the juxtaposition.

When Kleitias and his contemporaries were active, the poems chronicling the Trojan War were still

part of an oral tradition.⁶¹ Those who heard the poems sung and chose to depict episodes from them were relying on memory images and may have felt at liberty to enhance their visual presentations as they saw fit. These painters were artists not illustrators and one cannot assume they felt an obsessive need to depict the events of a sung poem right down to the last word they heard. This is not the way artists work. In many instances vase painters followed their instincts to make the visual narrative more exciting to the viewer or, at times, even very subtle as Kleitias did on the François Vase.⁶²

Dionysos is a popular god in Greek mythology and there are very many representations of him in various contexts where his behavior ranges from quiet and dignified to boisterous and uninhibited. Cheiron, the teacher of heroes, is the most human of all the centaurs. He is always stately and noble, never more so than on the François Vase where his gift to Peleus will play a vital role in the adult life of Achilles.⁶³ After the hero's death, so does Dionysos' gift. Kleitias' image of Dionysos in the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis is the most memorable in all of Attic black-figured vase-painting and as Beazley so aptly stated 'nowhere else is he represented like this.'⁶⁴ Neither is Kleitias' depiction of Cheiron.

NOTES

¹ Florence 4209. Basic bibliography: *ABV* 76, 1; *Para* 29, 1; *Addenda* 21; *Vaso François*, *passim*, for the signatures, see *figs* 201 and 208; Gaunt 2002, 40-50 and 435-39 for a full bibliography, *pls.* 10-12; most recently, Torelli 2007, *passim*; Hirayama 2010, *passim*. The best description of the François Vase is still the one by Beazley 1951; 1964²; 1986³, ch. 3. Earlier, he called it 'The most famous of all black-figured vases' (Beazley 1928, 15).

² These are some examples of pertinent details and gestures on the François vase. In the Wedding of Peleus: the peploi of two of the Moirai are fixed at one shoulder with a large stick pin; some of the garments of the goddesses are decorated with figural friezes drawn in added white; the forelocks of the pole horses are tied up in topknots and some of their tails are looped at the ends, making the animals appear more elegant and well-groomed; one front hoof of each horse touches ground with just the toe to indicate forward movement, 'a small change, but it gives a lighter effect, and was a novelty in the time of Kleitias': Beazley 1951, 29, 1964², 29, 1986³, 26-27; Cheiron carries a branch taken from an ash tree not a fir (*fig. 7*, and see below). For these figures, see *FR I*, 1904, *pls.* 1-2; Torelli 2007, 98-102 above. The crew of Theseus' ship celebrates joyously when they learn the hero has killed the Minotaur: one stretches his arms upward, another swims to shore with long sure strokes, others express excitement with various gestures. Kleitias even drew the mast lowered into the crutch of the hero's ship. In this scene, two figural

- friezes decorate Theseus' long chiton (FR I, 1904, pl. 13; Torelli 2007, 90).
- ³ Beazley 1951, 26; 1964², 26; 1986³, 24.
- ⁴ Some of them appear in vase painting for the first time. For example: the arrival of Dionysos with Hephaistos at Olympos, the Pygmies and Cranes, and the Rescue of the Athenian youths and maidens (see n. 2), all very rare subjects; also unusual is the Kalydonian Boar. For the arrival at Olympos, see *Vaso François*, figs 89-93, Torelli 2007, 103-105; Pygmies and Cranes, *Vaso François*, figs 102-105, Torelli, 110; Kalydonian Boar, *Vaso François*, figs 57-59; Torelli, 92-93.
- ⁵ For the documentation of the excavation and the ensuing correspondence, see *Vaso François*, *passim*.
- ⁶ Henrichs 1979, 1.
- ⁷ Stewart 1983, 53 and 55 for the axes of the vase, 64 for the choice of subject above and below Dionysos. Giuliani 2003, 150 notes that the diagonals created by the position of the amphora and the god's legs creates a strong dramatic gesture.
- ⁸ It is not a one-piece amphora because there is a break in the contour between the neck and the shoulder. Simon 1976, 70 was the first to recognize that this vase is a neck-amphora *not* a one-piece amphora.
- ⁹ FR I 1904, 4. Beazley 1951, 28; 1964², 28; 1986³, 26. Shefton in Arias 1962, 289. Simon 1976, 70.
- ¹⁰ This cup is Havana, Lagunillas no 123: *Para* 16, 17^{ter}; Olmos 1990, 30, 32.
- ¹¹ Stewart 1983, 55. Williams 1983, 33. Carpenter 1986, 10. Henrichs 1987, 94 and 113, note 10. Korshak 1987, 27. Isler-Kerényi 1997, 76: 'Dionysos...zieht durch seine heftige Bewegung'; and 78: 'die im Vergleich zum Schreiten der Prozession heftige, gleichsam dämonische Bewegung'; 2007, 78. Giuliani 2003, 148 repeated Furtwängler's interpretation (see n. 9) that ...'ist mächtig ausschreitend Dionysos dargestellt'. Schwarzmaier 2008, 85: 'ist Dionysos, der mit einem großen geschulterten Weingefäß auf der Hochzeit von Peleus und Thetis auftaucht, durch das frontale Gesicht als von seinem eigenen Geschenk trunkenen Gast gekennzeichnet.' I wish to thank Joan R. Mertens for alerting me to this new publication.
- ¹² Korshak (1987, 28, n. 41) seemed to recognize this, although she did not describe Dionysos' pose as a balanced one: 'On the François Vase, Dionysos' front [left] and back [right] knees are clearly bent, and the breadth of his stride can be recognized in the fact that a line dropped directly down from the back of his head would not intercept the front of his back foot, as it would that of other figures in this procession. Dionysos appears to be in a decorous version of Webster's posture C ['Backward kick, the other leg bent'], D ['Run'], (k ['Arm bent with hand near hip level']), *The Greek Chorus*, 3f.'. None of these positions or movements comes close to matching the image of Dionysos.
- ¹³ ABV 64, 24; *Addenda*² 17; Carpenter 1986, 83: 'On one side, a drunken Dionysos dances (Plate 19A)' and n. 28: 'Dionysos dancing is rare in Attic black-figure'. Good photograph: Brijder 1991, pl. 109 a.
- ¹⁴ Würzburg L 265 (ABV 151, 22; *Para* 63, 22; *Addenda*² 43; Hedreen 1992, pl. 29 b). Beazley and others interpret the god as dancing, but not inebriated. 'This is the earliest picture in which Dionysos himself joins in the dance, instead of standing motionless amid the tumult' (Beazley 1951, 60; 1964², 60; 1986³, 55). Simon 1976 82: 'Ein Silen spielt den Doppelaulos, und zwei Silene mit Trinkhörnern sowie Dionysos selbst tanzen dazu. Der Gott ist mit Efeu bekränzt, hält Efeuzweige und läßt seinen Kantharos aus einem Tierschlauch füllen. Der ihn trägt, ein struppiger Silen, wendet uns sein maskenhaftes Gesicht zu.' Bothmer 1985, 113-114: Dionysos 'moves in step with the two satyrs behind him, who dance side by side, their arms around one another's shoulders.' LIMC III, s.v. Dionysos, 415 pl. 346: 'D. barbato in chitone e himation danza verso s., chino in avanti.'
- ¹⁵ Best observed in FR I, 1904, pl. 13; see also *Vaso François*, figs 62-65; Torelli 2007, 91.
- ¹⁶ *Vaso François*, figs 112-113 and color plate V; Torelli 2007, 113.
- ¹⁷ *Vaso François*, figs 106-07; Torelli 2007, 112. For the subject, see LIMC I, s.v. Achilleus, 866-888 (a selection of the known examples in Attic black figure).
- ¹⁸ MMA 31.11.11 (ABV 108, 5; *Para* 43, 5; *Addenda*² 29). In sculpture a good example is the terrifying image of Medusa in the pediment of the Temple of Artemis at Corfu. She is enormous and were she to stand, she would tower above the apex of the pediment (for good photographs, see Rodenwaldt, 1939, pls 3-4).
- ¹⁹ FR I, 1904, 4: 'sein Gesicht mit dem besonders mächtigen Barte ist von vorne gezeichnet und erinnert an die Masken, unter deren Gestalt der Gott in Attika in alter Zeit verehrt zu werden pflegte.' For Dionysos masks, see most recently, Schwarzmaier 2008, 81-93. See the brief remarks by Carpenter 1986, 96-97 who notes that the masks of Dionysos first appear in the last quarter of the 6th century BC, but he also draws a parallel between the masks and the face of Dionysos. For a list, see ABV 275; *Para* 121; *Addenda*² 72. See also Hamdorf 1990, *passim*.
- ²⁰ Beazley 1951, 28; 1964², 28; 1986³, 26. Shefton in Arias 1962, 89. Carpenter 1986, 1. Isler-Kerényi 1997, 78: 'Die Gestalt des Dionysos zeichnet sich durch drei auffällige Neuerungen aus: die Vorderansicht von Kopf und Körperoberteil' (the other two new elements are his stormy movement in the procession and the amphora brought as a present). Also, the brief discussion by Hedreen 2007, 234-237. Schwarzmaier 2008, 85. Beazley says there are two faces on the vase that are frontal, Dionysos and Kalliope. One should also add the Gorgon on the back of each handle (*Vaso François*, figs 112-13 and color pl. V; Torelli 2007, 113). Perhaps the fallen centaur with a frontal chest also had a frontal face (today his head is missing: see *Vaso François*, fig. 66). For other early examples of frontal faces of figures who are not Gorgons, see Kalliope by Sophilos: Athens, NM Acr. 15165 (ex Acr. 587): ABV 39, 15; *Addenda*² 10; good photo, Bakır 1981, pl. 5, fig.9; London, BM 1971.11-1.1: *Para* 19, 16 bis; *Addenda*² 10; detail, Williams 1983, 26, fig. 31.
- ²¹ See n. 19.
- ²² Beazley 1951, 28; 1964², 28; 1986³, 26. See especially, Korshak 1987, 2-4 who summarizes the categories compiled by other scholars, in particular: Hoernes 1925, 590-600; Greifenhagen 1929, 69-75.
- ²³ Stewart 1983, 55.
- ²⁴ For details of the former, see *Vaso François*, figs 84 and 86, Torelli 2007, 106 and 108; of the latter *Vaso François*, 70-71 and 73, Torelli 94 above, 95 below.
- ²⁵ Dennis 1848, 115-117 (reprinted in *Vaso François*, 64). Braun 1849 (reprinted in *Vaso François*, 65-83; 67: 'così Dioniso l'autore d'allegria comparisce carico d'un'anfora ripiena di vino.'). FR I, 1904, 4: 'eine schwere Amphora voll Weines auf dem Rücken schleppend.' Best observed in FR I, pl. 1, also Torelli 2007, 101 below.
- ²⁶ Beazley 1951, 28; 1964², 28; 1986³, 26).

- ²⁷ Rumpf 1953, 469-470: 'Bringt man ihn in einer Amphora, so müßte man sie senkrecht tragen. Hier ist sie um 55° geneigt, würde also auslaufen. Demnach ist sie leer. Dennoch ist sie so schwer, daß Dionysos unter der Last die Knie beugt, also kann sie nur aus Metall sein. Es ist die goldene Amphora, das Werk des Hephaistos, die nach Homer ([Iliad] ψ 92 [Odyssey] u. ω 74) Dionysos der Thetis schenkte' (the quotation is on 470). Beazley accepted Rumpf's interpretation and included it in (1964², 120, n. to 28, 1986³, 97, n. 3bis).
- ²⁸ Rumpf 1953, 469-470. Rumpf may have had in mind wine transport in Dionysiac scenes, not in actual life. See Schaus 1986, 122 who writes that wine was shipped long distance in clay amphorae, but locally in skins (citing Grace 1961, text between figs. 20 and 21). See also Koehler 1986, 49-67.
- ²⁹ Minto 1960, 91: 'Il dio sostiene sulle spalle e sorregge per il manico, col braccio e la mano sollevata, il grosso anforone, che indubbiamente è ripieno del sacro liquore della vite.' Shefton in Arias 1962, 289. Simon 1976, 70: 'eine große Halsamphora mit Wein'. Boardman 1976, 12, n. 34.
- ³⁰ Stewart 1983, 55. Carpenter 1986, 10-11. Williams 1983, 33.
- ³¹ Schaus 1986, 119. Henrichs 1987, 94 and 114, n. 14. Korshak 1987, 27. Haslam 1991, 40-41 and 37 where he asks: 'But how had it [the golden amphora] passed from Hephaistos to Dionysos? And when and why had Dionysos given it to Thetis?' Isler Kerényi 1997, 79: 'die Amphora ... die er schultert und die über den Friesrand hinausragt'; 2007, 79. Gaunt 2002, 46-47.
- ³² Stewart 1983, 70, n. 4. He cited a suggestion made by G.F. Pinny who asked 'could Kleitias have selected the type as an antique, or even as a joke (since the SOS was hardly high-class ware)?' This is not very likely, because the SOS amphora may not have been produced as late as the time when Kleitias was active. More to the point, Kleitias is a very serious painter; humor is not part of his visual vocabulary.
- ³³ Schaus 1986, 125-126 (the quotation is on 125). Giuliani 2003, 150: 'Kein Zeitgenosse dürfte auch nur einen Augenblick daran gezweifelt haben, daß Dionysos hier mit einer Tonamphora voll Wein zum Fest eilt.'
- ³⁴ For good examples, see Johnston/Jones 1978, pl.18 a and b. Not every SOS amphora has the SOS decoration painted on the neck. For the shape, see Johnston/Jones 1978, 103-141.
- ³⁵ Schaus 1986, 126. In n. 23 on the same page, Schaus writes that 'it is, of course, unclear whether the hydria [Polyxena's] is meant to be metal or clay, or whether the artist even considered the matter.' If it were made of clay, it would have broken when Polyxena dropped it on the ground as she ran away. For a broken hydria in a representation of the Pursuit of Troilos, see these two examples from the third quarter of the sixth century: Heidelberg 72/1 by an artist close to the Painter of Louvre F 42 (attributed by Krauskopf 1977, 36) and dating about 540 BC (*LIMC* I, s.v. Achilleus 295 pl. 87); Hannover 1965.30 by the Antimenes Painter dating about 530 B.C. (*Para* 119, 27^{ter}; *Addenda*² 70, *LIMC* (*ibid.*) no 293 pl. 87). On the François Vase, Polyxena's hydria is intact and thus made of metal (*fig. 1*; for a detail, see *Vaso François*, *fig. 135*; also Torelli 2007, 108 above). Garments with figural friezes on them indicate a desire for richly embellished clothing and it is not surprising in the least that for this significant event, Kleitias depicted the goddesses resplendent in all their finery. For figural and patterned decoration on garments, see Cecchetti 1971-1972.
- ³⁶ This is completely different from the scene of the Return of Hephaistos on the back of the François Vase (*fig. 5*). There Dionysos plays a pivotal role when he brings Hephaistos back to Olympos so he can free Hera from the throne to which she is fettered. This calls for a celebration and who better to bring the wine than Dionysos? He delegated the responsibility of carrying a full wineskin to a silene.
- ³⁷ FR I, 1904, 4. See n. 25.
- ³⁸ For a transport amphora actually resting on the shoulder of its bearer, see these two. Würzburg 208, an unattributed neck-amphora dating about 510 BC (*Kunst der Schale* 325, *fig. 56.1b*). There, a satyr balances a pointed amphora on his left shoulder and steadies it with his hand. Munich 2424, a hydria dating about 500 B.C. and once attributed to an artist near the Kleophrades Painter (*ARV*² 193, the attribution withdrawn; *Kunst der Schale* 455, *fig. 85.1*). A satyr holds the amphora by its toe as the vessel rests on his right shoulder. For a komast carrying an amphora holding it by one handle, see Munich 2647, a cup by Douris dating about 480 BC (*ARV*² 438, 132; *Addenda*² 239; *Kunst der Schale* 276, *fig. 44.1*).
- ³⁹ Rumpf 1953, 469-470; Schaus 1986, 122-123.
- ⁴⁰ Agora P 25965 (*ARV*² 242, 79; *Addenda*² 202; Moore 1997, 230, no. 611, pl. 66; Schmidt 2005, *fig. 81*). When I published this fragment, I failed to notice the stopper. For stoppers, see Schaus 1986, 122, n. 13; Koehler 1986, 52-55. This manner of carrying an amphora full of liquid was still practiced in rural Greece as late as the 1960s. See McCabe 2004, 79 (Alanissos 1963) and 97 (Seriphos 1963). In each photograph, a woman steadies the amphora on her left shoulder holding it by one handle with her left hand. One amphora is stoppered with a sponge, the other with what appears to be a wadded-up rag.
- ⁴¹ The first passage is *Iliad* 23.82-83 and 90-92 (Loeb translation A.T. Murray and rev. by W. F. Wyatt, vol. 2 [Cambridge, Mass./London, 1999] 499: the spirit of Patroklos is speaking): 'Lay not my bones apart from yours, Achilles, but let them lie together ... let one coffer enfold our bones, a golden coffer with two handles, the one your queenly mother gave you.' The second reference is *Odyssey* 24.69-77 (Loeb translation: A.T. Murray and rev. by G.E. Dimock, vol. 2 [Cambridge, Mass./London, 1995] 417 and 419: the ghost of Agamemnon is speaking): 'But when the flame of Hephaestus made an end of you [Achilles], in the morning we [the Achaeans] gathered your white bones, Achilles, and laid them in unmixed wine and unguents. Your mother had given a two-handled, golden urn, and said it was the gift of Dionysus, and the handiwork of famed Hephaestus. In this lie your white bones, glorious Achilles, and mingled with them the bones of dead Patroklos ...'. Haslam (1991, 36-37) emphasizes that Homer does not mention when the gift was given to Thetis. For this amphora as a wedding present, see Burkert 1987, 59, n. 30 with bibliography.
- ⁴² See Stewart 1983, 56; Schaus 1986, 120; Haslam 1991, 35-40; Burgess 2004, 30. For the passage, see Stesichoros, fr. 234: *Greek Lyric* (Loeb translation: David A. Campbell, vol. 3 [Cambridge, Mass./London, 1991]) 163.
- ⁴³ See the scholiast on the *Iliad* 16.40 in *Greek Epic Fragments from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries B.C.* (Loeb translation and editing: M.L. West [Cambridge, Mass./London, 2003]) 85.

- ⁴⁴ Twice Homer mentions the immortal armor made by Hephaistos that the gods gave to Peleus as a wedding gift; but there is no reference to the golden amphora being a wedding gift. *Iliad* 17.194-196: Hektor 'put on the immortal armor of Peleus' son, Achilles, that the heavenly gods had given to his father and that he had given to his son, when he himself had grown old' (see n. 41), 243 and *Iliad* 18.83-84, Achilles is speaking to Thetis: 'that fair armor, huge of size, a wonder to look on, that the gods gave as a glorious gift to Peleus' (see n. 41), 293. Including this panoply in the procession would have been difficult and cumbersome; also it would have introduced a martial component inappropriate on this festive occasion. This is very different from the presentation of the second set of armor when Thetis and her sisters each deliver a piece of it to Achilles. See *LIMC* I, s.v. Achilleus 506-525 pls 109-112.
- ⁴⁵ FR I, 1904, 3: 'Als Jäger trägt er, nach altem, für die Kentauren festgestelltem Typus, einen starken Pinienast auf der linken Schulter, daran zwei Hasen und ein Reh als Jagdbeute hängen.' Beazley 1951, 28; 1964², 28; 1986³, 26. Minto 1960, 90: Cheiron 'portando sulle spalle un grosso ramo di abete.' Simon 1976, 70: 'Er schultert einen Fichtenstamm mit Wildbret.'
- ⁴⁶ Stewart 1983, 64-65, the quotation is on 64. Gantz (1993, 230) also thought it is an ash branch, 'perhaps an allusion to the spear Peleus receives from him in Homer (*Il.* 16.140-44); in the *Kypria* this was specifically a wedding gift with Cheiron providing the branch'. *Contra*, Schaus (1986, 124) who wrote that Stewart mistook 'what is properly called an ash leaf for an ash branch. The proper ash leaf (as opposed to a 'leaflet') has a narrow stem, 30-45 cm (12-18 in.) long, with separate leaflets which grow directly opposite each other along the stem. The leaf could never support the weight of the three animals carried by the centaur, much less be used for a spear by Peleus and Achilles. A true ash branch looks very different from the branch carried by Cheiron.' Unfortunately, Schaus did not give a pictorial reference. Most recently E. and H. Böhr opted for the branch being that of a fir tree (Böhr 2009, 23).
- ⁴⁷ The first is *Iliad* 16.140-144: 'this [the ash spear] no other of the Achaeans could wield, but Achilles alone was skilled to wield it, the Pelian spear of ash, that Cheiron had given to his dear father from the peak of Pelion, to be for the slaying of warriors' (see n. 41, 173); the second is *Iliad* 19.387-391: 'And from its stand he drew his father's spear, heavy and huge and strong, that no other of the Achaeans could wield, but Achilles alone was skilled to wield it ...' (see n. 41, 363). For a detailed discussion of the spear of Achilles in all of its ramifications, see Shannon 1975, *passim*, but esp. ch. 3. I wish to thank Veruschka Aizaga-Thomason for obtaining a copy of this book for me. Most recently, see the brief comments by Mackie 2008, 100 and 135.
- ⁴⁸ Beazley 1951, 10-11; 1964², 11; 1986³ 10. Beazley is describing a Protoattic vase in Berlin by the Ram Jug Painter (Inv. 31573, ex A 9) which shows Cheiron bringing dead animals (a lion, a boar and perhaps a wolf) to Peleus who holds the infant Achilles (pl. 9, 3-4: the small fragment with part of Achilles is not illustrated). The preserved literary sources are late, but the illustration makes clear that this raw carnivorous diet was known as early as the third quarter of the 7th century BC. The basic discussion of this subject is still Robertson 1940.
- ⁴⁹ Shannon 1975, 31 and 27. Shannon does not mention the golden amphora as Stewart seems to imply (Stewart 1983, 65 and 72, n. 52). Shapiro 1995, 12 remarks that 'one of Peleus' most coveted wedding gifts was a spear fashioned by the centaur Chiron, smoothed by Athena, its metal point fitted by Hephaistos.'
- ⁵⁰ Best observed in FR I, 1904, pl. 1, also fig. 7. This suggests that the branch has been pruned, but not yet prepared to be fashioned into the spear (this will happen later, as the passage in the *Cypria* indicates - (see n. 43). The *Cypria* says that Chiron 'cut down a fine ash' [μελίαν εὐθαλή]. This might indicate a young tree, not the branch of a mature one.
- ⁵¹ Furthermore, fir would be unsuitable wood for a spear, because it snaps easily under pressure. For a branch that bends under the weight of dead game, see the one held by Cheiron on Würzburg 452 by the Heidelberg Painter (*ABV* 63, 7; Brijder 1991, pl. 140 d). For a botanical, linguistic and utilitarian consideration of ash trees, see especially Shannon 1975, 40-44. For the spear of Achilles, see Shannon *ibid.* ch. 3. Nagy (1981, 158) wrote that 'the spear of Homeric diction consists of the same elements [as Hesiod's Third Generation of Mortals: *Works and Days* 143-151]: the tip of bronze and a shaft of ash wood'. Bauman 1996, 60, fig. 96 (a very general illustration) and 64 for a brief description including mention that the 'excellent wood' (of this tree was) 'used to fashion lances and javelins.' For Mediterranean pines, see Peterson 1980, 100-103; these trees are characterized by small offshoots of the main branch and cones. For a general study of the representations of plants in Greek art, see Himmelmann 2004.
- ⁵² FR I, 1904, 3.
- ⁵³ Stewart 1983, 65 with a brief discussion.
- ⁵⁴ For the centaurs, see *Vaso François*, figs 66-69 and 126-127; Torelli 2007, 96.
- ⁵⁵ For Cheiron, see *LIMC* III, s.v. Cheiron, 1-42 pls 186-190 for Greek representations. For examples of Greek centaurs in all media, see *LIMC* VIII, s.v. Kentauroi et Kentaurides, 1-370 pls 416-458. See *LIMC* III, pl. 190 Cheiron 41 and 42 for a juxtaposition of Cheiron by Sophilos on his dinos in London (see Williams 1983) and by Kleitias. The branch of the former bends near the tip, the foliage is sparse, and it has none of weight as the one on the François Vase has. It is, however, closer to those by Kleitias than any of the others known to me. Haslam (1991, 43-44) noted how distinctive this branch is: 'Cheiron's branch [by Kleitias], unlike those in the centauiromachy, is strikingly long and straight, as well as single: nothing could more resemble a potential spear.'
- ⁵⁶ See n. 47.
- ⁵⁷ Nagy 1981, 158, with credit to Shannon 1975, 31.
- ⁵⁸ Stewart 1983, 63-64 with a discussion of the golden amphora. On the London dinos by Sophilos, Dionysos just holds a branch (Williams 1983, 24, fig. 27).
- ⁵⁹ Giuliani 2003, 149 asked if Kleitias might have been following a different version that included the golden amphora, but opted for a negative answer. 'Das ist ebenso raffiniert wie verführerisch - aber kaum überzeugend.'
- ⁶⁰ *Iliad* 23.263-624 (see n. 41, 513-539.) See *Vaso François*, figs 70-73, also FR I, 1904, pl. 11. Beazley 1951, 34-35; 1964², 34-35; 1986³, 32. I am not sure I agree with Beazley when he writes: 'Kleitias, left to himself, did not remember the field, and could not find anyone who did; his learned friend was not at hand' (*ibid.*). I think it more likely that Kleitias knew a version with differently named heroes or else he was more interested in the thrill of the moment than in poetic accuracy. See the

- remarks by Snodgrass 1998, 119-120 who also considers the possibility of a variant. Earlier, Friis Johansen (1967, 88-91) noted the discrepancies between Homer's text and Kleitias's picture. Very briefly, Haslam 1991, 44-45.
- ⁶¹ This is not the place to delve into the question of when the epic poems were written down, a subject that has long vexed classicists. See most recently, Ready 2007, 111-138 with bibliography 138-140. Also, Burkert 1987, 43-62. Burkert discussed the issue of Homeric text and image and remarked, p. 48: 'Conditions had changed in a remarkable way by the end of the 6th century. ... What had happened was that rhapsodes had replaced singers, *aoidoi*, a momentous change indeed. Creative improvisation had given way to the reproduction of a fixed text, learned by heart and available also in book form.'
- ⁶² See West 1971, 306 who was skeptical about the direct influence of poetry on vase-painting or vice-versa; cited by Boardman 1976, 12, n. 34, who added: 'The lesson of Archaic representations of myth seems to be that no one poet or poem dominated the treatment in art of any single cycle of stories and that, unless we are still lacking all information about some source or poet, more influential than we can imagine, we must judge the artist's view of any story to be conditioned by many different sources, not least his own memory, which may be defective, as well as the traditions and conventions of his art, and, of course, the appeal of his own imagination and emotions.' The most detailed recent discussion of the problem of vase painters and poetic images is Snodgrass 1998, *passim*.
- ⁶³ See especially LIMC III, s.v. Dionysos; also Isler-Kerényi 2007. For Cheiron, see n. 55. See Haslam 1991, 44: 'Cheiron's gift of a branch, just as Dionysos' gift of an amphora, was inescapably imbedded in tradition ...' Minto 1960, 103 remarked that 'Dionysos e Chiron sono le uniche divinità' and speculated that they might be bringing gifts, but also thought that the amphora and the branch could be attributes.
- ⁶⁴ Beazley 1951, 28; 1964², 28; 1986³, 26.

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Hermes in Attic Early Black-Figured Vase-Painting *Reflections of Contemporary Attica*

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Abstract

'Corinthianising', primarily expressed by the dominance of animal friezes, is the main characteristic of Attic early black-figured pottery. Figure-scenes are limited and deities are only rarely represented. The only exception is Hermes, identified by his kerykeion and depicted flanked by sirens or sphinxes on a number of vases. The present article presents and examines in detail these scenes in an attempt to interpret the god's role and meaning, emphasizing on the vessels' archaeological context. Having as principal aim to demonstrate that the contextual approach of iconography can offer new interesting insights into its social background, this study explores the association of Attic early 6th-century funerary and cult practices with the iconography of deities, drawing a number of conclusions concerning contemporary Attica.

INTRODUCTION

The first quarter of the 6th century marks a number of important changes in Attic vase-production. Although the first generation of black-figure painters of the last quarter of the 7th century closely followed the Protoattic traditions, early 6th-century Attic vases acquire an evident 'corinthianising' character. Attic potters adopt a number of Corinthian sympotic and oil shapes, while the mixed animal friezes become the dominant iconographic choice.¹ Due to this prevalence and the fragmentary state of the majority of the preserved vessels, figure-scenes are not numerous and almost all the themes are known from a limited number of examples, impeding secure conclusions concerning early 6th-century iconographic choices. In the extant evidence, contemporary iconography reveals an anthropocentrism.² New mythological scenes, known from epic narratives - many of which have been assigned to Sophilos³ - emerge, but deities are not common. Only Hermes, securely identified by his *kerykeion*, appears as an isolated figure, flanked by sphinxes or sirens on a number of early 6th-century vessels, which form a reasonable basis for the detailed study of the subject.

Hermes appears in Greek art already from the end of the 8th century. The earliest depictions of the god are known from Crete: two Cretan bronze plaques from the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Symi Viannou, dating to the late 8th and the first quarter of the 7th centuries BC.⁴ On the earliest, Hermes is shown as a naked, young male, holding a staff with a rounded top. He is emerging from a cairn, while a snake appears on

his arm, pointing perhaps to his association with the underworld. On the second plaque, his staff, combining characteristics of a *skeptron* and a *kerykeion*, corresponds to the Homeric description presenting him as an *anax* (Il. 24.347-348). In both cases, his representation as a beardless youth agrees with Homer. The Cretan evidence underlines the connection of the deity with nature. In the sanctuary, he was worshipped as a vegetation deity, also having a chthonic nature.⁵ A youthful Hermes, holding a comparable staff with that on the second Cretan bronze plaque, appears as *psychopompos* on the neck of a 7th-century 'Melian' funerary hydria, which predates the Attic iconographic parallels (fig. 1).⁶

THE ATTIC EARLY BLACK-FIGURE EVIDENCE

Depictions of deities are almost absent from Attic late 7th-century iconography. At that time, scenes of heroes - in particular Herakles - struggling with monsters dominated the iconographic interests of the painters. Deities are often shown assisting them: Athena offers her support to Perseus after Gorgon's decapitation on a louterion by the Nessos Painter from Aigina.⁷ These themes have been thought to reflect contemporary social and historical circumstances and have been associated with the development of the Greek *polis*. Heroes appear as protectors of human civilisation, threatened by its wild and dangerous surroundings and the scenes as symbols of the struggle of man against nature.⁸ This theory can be valid for Athens and its hinterland, which experienced the process of settlement development during the 7th century.⁹



Fig. 1. 'Melian' hydria. Delos Archaeological Museum, 1355 (after Zapheirou 2003, pl. 63.80).

Hermes is already present in Attic late 7th-century iconography, although the scheme of sphinxes or sirens flanking the god, as known from early 6th-century vases, has not been yet established. The lower part of the legs of a male figure, the winged sandal and part of a staff are preserved on an amphora fragment by the Nessos Painter (fig. 2).¹⁰ The attributes positively point to Hermes, but the fragmentary state of the vase does not allow for a secure reconstruction of the scene. Whether he is shown assisting a hero or being flanked by animals, as on the slightly later Attic vases, is unknown. The fragment was found at a burial ground, in use from the late 8th to the second quarter of the 6th century, detected north of the Olympieion enclosure.¹¹ A possible depiction of the god is known from a fragmentary louterion from the Kerameikos,¹² where a male figure with a staff is followed by a lion. The vase dates to the transition from the 7th to the 6th century BC.

Hermes appears on several occasions on Attic early 6th-century vases. The god is assisting Perseus together with Athena on the Gorgon Painter's name-vase.¹³ He can serve as a bystander: he flanks, together with a draped man with a spear, a frontal chariot occupying the centre of the scene on a



Fig. 2. Amphora fragment from the Olympieion (after Brann 1959, pl. 44, 3).

lekane by the KX Painter¹⁴ and the struggle of Herakles and Nereus on a column-krater by Sophilos (fig. 3).¹⁵ As a guide, Hermes plays a prominent role in the episode of the Judgement of Paris.¹⁶ The earliest Attic depiction is preserved on an unpublished hydria from the North necropolis of Vari.¹⁷ Hermes with his *kerykeion* is leading the goddesses to Paris, who is trying to escape, heading towards a rich edifice. The god is moving fast, trying to reach the prince, while negotiating.¹⁸ The fragmentary scene on the neck of an almost contemporary amphora of the Group of the Dresden Lekanis is possibly pointing to the same episode. Paris is missing, but Hermes, wearing



Fig. 3. Column-krater. Athens, National Museum, 12587 (Courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens, © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/ Archaeological Receipts Fund).



Fig. 4. Olpe from Nola. London, British Museum B 32 (Courtesy British Museum).

winged boots, is shown leading three female figures.¹⁹

On a number of early 6th-century vases, Hermes is depicted alone, flanked by fantastic creatures. The earliest belong to the circle of the Gorgon Painter.²⁰ On an olpe from Nola, the god is standing on a floral ornament between two sphinxes (fig. 4). He is holding his *kerykeion* and is shown beardless, like the figures from Crete and the Cyclades. If not for decorative purposes, the floral ornament might have been chosen for underlining the god's connection with vegetation. With its omission, Hermes appears in the same scheme on a slightly later olpe by the KX Painter from the North necropolis of Vari (fig. 5).²¹ Here the god has acquired the beard that will characterise him until the 5th century. An olpe from the Kerameikos by the same painter shows the god flanked by sirens and not sphinxes.²² On all these vases, the animals appear on a larger scale than Hermes. A bearded Hermes with a long garment and a *kerykeion* is standing between sirens on a lekane from Thebes. He is included in the animal frieze on the upper part of the vessel's body, losing his



Fig. 5. Olpe from Vari. Athens, National Museum 19159 (Courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens, © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/ Archaeological Receipts Fund).



Fig. 6. Lekane from Thebes. London, British Museum, 1905.7-11.4 (Courtesy British Museum).

prominent position on the olpai, where depicted on a panel (fig. 6).²³ On a contemporary cup, found in an offering place at the Kerameikos, Hermes appears in a frieze together with sirens.²⁴

A number of comparable scenes belong to Sophilos and painters of his circle. On the neck of an amphora by Sophilos, Hermes appears alone among sphinxes, but on the upper body frieze together with a youth. The vessel was found in an offering trench explored in the Marathon tumulus (fig. 7). On a hydria by a painter working in Sophilos' manner, the scene is also inserted in



Fig. 7. Part of a neck-amphora from Marathon.
Athens, National Museum, 1036
(after Bakır 1981, pl. 30, fig. 53).



Fig. 8. Hydria from Vari. Athens, National Museum 19191 (Courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens, © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/ Archaeological Receipts Fund).

the animal frieze occupying the centre of the handle zone (fig. 8).²⁵ The hydria comes from a trench of the North necropolis of Vari, where the olpe by the KX Painter was discovered too. Hermes is also depicted on an amphora (fig. 9)²⁶ and a skyphos-krater, found on the Athenian Acropolis,²⁷ a loutrophoros from the Sanctuary of the Nymph on the south slope of the Acropolis (fig. 10),²⁸ a neck-amphora fragment from Naukratis,²⁹ and an amphora, now in Florence,³⁰ assigned to Sophilos

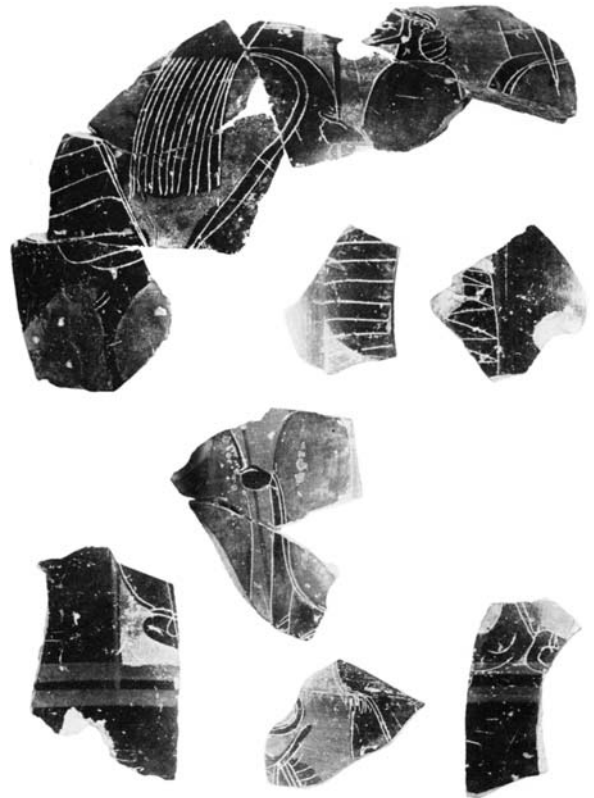


Fig. 9. Amphora fragments from the Acropolis.
Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Collection
1.757 (after Bakır 1981, pl. 24).

or his contemporaries. Except for the skyphos-krater, where followed by a sphinx, Hermes is shown flanked by sirens and the scene forms part of animal friezes. An amphora, now in Boston³¹ and a fragmentary lekanis from Eleusis,³² dating to 560-550 BC, are the latest Attic examples of the god depicted in this scheme; here Hermes is shown among sphinxes.

Hermes, recognized by his *kerykeion*, appears on two Middle Corinthian round aryballoi from Delos: on the first, the god is facing a running winged male figure, while followed by a swan (fig. 11),³³ while on the other he is flanked by two lions, following more closely the Attic prototype.³⁴ The inspiration might have come from Attica, since the Corinthian vessels are slightly later than the earliest Attic, dating to the first decades of the 6th century.³⁵

INTERPRETATION

In the Homeric epics, Hermes is seen as a protector of herd animals and shepherds,³⁶ while in the



Fig. 10.
Loutrophoros from the
Sanctuary of the Nymph
(after Papadopoulou-
Kanellopoulou 1997, pl. 34,
174A).

Homeric Hymn (*Hom. Merc.* 565-570), dated to the late 6th-century, he appears as a master of animals, in particular having a special connection with dogs and horses.³⁷ Nevertheless, the choice of the fantastic animals, following him, does not sustain the qualities of the god, as described in these sources. The scheme of Hermes among sirens or sphinxes rather shares common elements with the depictions of *despotes theron*, an originally Oriental theme, which appears on Cretan metalwork by the first half of the 8th and with variations in mainland Greece during the 7th century.³⁸ It is, however, rare in Attic iconography.³⁹ The *despotes* can be winged, flanked by different animals and hybrids or represented as *despotes orneon*. The scenes focus on man's power over nature, but a connection with a specific god is not possible.⁴⁰

The earliest Attic depictions of the *despotes* belong to the Gorgon Painter. On the Louvre dinos, a naked man is shown holding a lion and a panther.⁴¹ He is included in an animal frieze without given a prominent position and he does not appear larger than the lions. On a slightly later pyxis by the KX Painter, he is shown holding a deer by the horns and a donkey by the ear,⁴² while on a lekanis of the Group of the Dresden Lekanis, two sirens.⁴³ On two lekythoi, by the Deianeira Painter, the man does not have a clear connection with the lions flanking him (fig. 12).⁴⁴ He

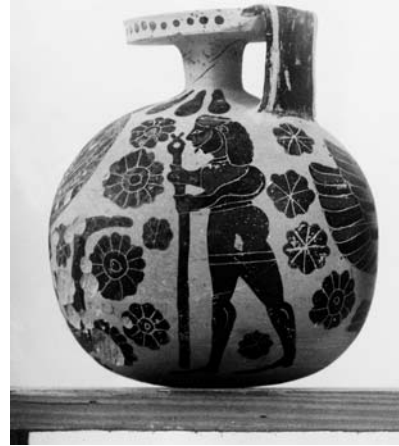


Fig. 11. Middle Corinthian aryballos from Delos.
Delos Museum, B 6.196 (Courtesy École française
d'Athènes).



Fig. 12. Lekythos from Cyprus. Nicosia, Cyprus
Museum, 1958IV223 (Courtesy Cyprus Museum).

is slightly touching one of them and was probably meant to be a *despotes theron*. On one example, he is naked and on the other dressed in chiton and boots. He looks back as he runs to the right with a fillet around his head and a sword hanging from his back. The lack of attributes does not indicate a specific god, like Apollo, who is later shown

flanked by lions, as a master of animals.⁴⁵ The suggested demonic nature cannot be sustained.⁴⁶ A possible explanation is that the painter might have aimed at creating a variant of the *despotes* scheme, which is slightly later than the known depictions of Hermes between wild animals and could have provided the inspiration.

Although the *despotes* seems to have served decorative purposes, the choice of the creatures flanking Hermes, as well as the archaeological context of the vessels, underline the funerary connotations of the scheme. Unlike *despotes*, the god does not have any physical contact with the animals and he is shown standing between sirens and sphinxes and not lions.⁴⁷ These female hybrids, common in all major Greek workshops, especially during the archaic era, are associated with death. Sphinxes, having a winged lion's body and a human female head, are favoured as decorative elements in Greek art during the 7th and 6th centuries. During the 6th century, they acquire a funerary role. In Attica, sculpted sphinxes crowned the marble *stelai*, which served as grave-markers from 600 BC until 530 BC.⁴⁸ Sirens are connected to death already by Homer, the earliest source for these creatures, where described in association with the adventures of Odysseus.⁴⁹ Later sources confirm this connection.⁵⁰ By the end of the 5th century, sculpted sirens mark graves and are conceived as mourners, fulfilling the death lament.⁵¹ They are not fearful, but play a positive role in death, accompanying the dead in graves with their songs.⁵²

The association of sphinxes and sirens with death points to the role of Hermes as *psychopompos*. In the Homeric epics, Hermes is a messenger and a guide, having the ability to cross even the infernal frontier.⁵³ He is the god of boundaries, with his role as a crosser of borders extending to the border line between living and dead. In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, he is guiding Persephone to the Underworld and in the *Odyssey* Herakles, who had to fetch Kerberos.⁵⁴ As *psychopompos*, he appears for the first time in the 24th book of the *Odyssey*,⁵⁵ a role, which seems to have developed from his ability to cross the frontiers of the Underworld.

The archaeological context of the Attic vases examined above supports Hermes' chthonic role, since most of them come from cemeteries. With the exception of the lekane from Thebes and the olpe from Nola, the rest were discovered in necropoleis within Attika. The examples from Attic cultic contexts are fewer: a single case is known from the sanctuary of the Nymph, while the rest

were discovered on the Athenian Acropolis. In the Attic cemeteries, the vessels were recovered from offering trenches (Kerameikos, Vari, Marathon). They all are liquid containers (olpai, hydria, cup), which could have served for libations during the trench ceremony. Offering trenches, introduced in Attica during the late 8th century, are the main feature of early archaic Attic funerary customs. The best preserved and studied examples were discovered in the Kerameikos, where they remained in use until around 560 BC.⁵⁶ Offerings were no more placed inside the grave. Instead these long, shallow ditches, dug into the ground, close to the grave, were found filled with ashes, bones of small animals or birds, burnt and broken sherds of pouring, eating and drinking shapes, indicating a funerary ceremony of a sympotic character, reflecting the wealth and lifestyle of the deceased.⁵⁷ It could be argued that since the Attic early black-figured vases with Hermes served a specific funerary purpose, associated with these trench-ceremonies, they could have been specially commissioned and therefore decorated with a theme compatible with the vessels' use. In contrast to the evidence from Attica, in Thebes, the lekane with Hermes was placed inside the grave.

The cultic context of the vases, coming from sanctuaries, does not clearly support the funerary-chthonic interpretation, but it cannot question the painters' intention to depict Hermes as *psychopompos*. In any case, the final destination of the vases depends on the buyers' and not the painters' will. Hermes' role as *psychopompos* is far more clearly presented on a number of 5th-century white-ground lekythoi, where he can appear alone, guiding or about to guide the deceased to the Underworld, more often with Charon and occasionally with Hypnos and Thanatos.⁵⁸

At some point, the figure of Hermes might have acquired a decorative role on Attic early black-figured vases, since he could interrupt the monotonous character of the dominant animal friezes.⁵⁹ As seen above, the god often becomes part of the wider animal friezes, without occupying a prominent position, as on the panels of the funerary olpai. He can also appear together with a male figure, as on the body of the amphora from Marathon. It seems that contemporary painters often added human figures to the animal friezes. Male and female figures, occasionally holding spears, sticks or branches, which cannot be associated with any particular deity or mythological figures are shown flanked by wild animals, as part of the animal friezes.⁶⁰

Hermes' presence in Attic early 6th-century iconography can be considered as the archaeological evidence for the contemporary concept of the god in Attic cult and funerary life. Historically this period corresponds to Solon and his reforms.⁶¹ Although later literary sources refer to a number of cults in association with the lawgiver, Hermes is not among them.⁶² Sources indicate that *chthonios* Hermes received offerings during *Chytroi*, the third day of the *Anthesteria*. The offerings were closely connected with the myth of the flood and were meant to appease Hermes, who controlled the passages to the Underworld. The *Anthesteria* are considered a very ancient Athenian festival and it has been suggested that it predated the Ionian Migration of the early first millennium BC.⁶³ Although there is no literary or archaeological evidence for the celebration of this festival during the early 6th century, the contemporary vase-iconography suggests that the chthonic status of Hermes was well established in Attica by that time and even if his depictions acquired over time a decorative character, the earliest scenes on funerary vases carry this special meaning.

According to the sources, Solon introduced funerary regulations,⁶⁴ which modern scholarship interpreted as an attempt to limit the display of wealth in private funerals in order to affect aristocratic power,⁶⁵ or as an action against women and their role in funeral rites.⁶⁶ A detailed analysis of the sources suggests that the funerary restrictions, if not in fact later inventions, aimed at regulating the relations between living and dead and limiting the effect of the *miasma* within the city.⁶⁷ This is further supported by the archaeological evidence, which points to a changing attitude towards death.⁶⁸ The continuous use of marble funerary *kouroi*, *korai* and *stelai* in Athens and its countryside during the 6th century, which underlined the wealth of the Attic nobility and the contemporary aristocratic rivalries, does not point to a law limiting luxurious display.⁶⁹ Moreover, the end of the offering trenches indicates changes in the type of burial customs rather than in their splendour.

Could Hermes the *psychopompos* be associated with Solonian funerary laws? The depictions of the god flanked by hybrids on the vessels from the Attic necropoleis are contemporary with the regulations. As a god of boundaries, Hermes could then reflect the prevailing contemporary attitude, also expressed by the funerary regulations, which

asked for a clearer separation of the world of the living from that of the dead. Based on the archaeological evidence, the period following Solonian archonship saw a number of changes in mortuary practices. Trenches and the ritual burning of banqueting sets are declining before being abandoned and from the second quarter of the 6th century vessels for personal uses, in particular *lekythoi* are now placed inside the tombs. Interestingly the latest known vases with the god flanked by sphinxes are contemporary with this change. And although trench-ceremonies are continuously attested in the Attic countryside at least until the 5th century (e.g. Vari), this iconographic theme is no longer in use. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that if at first the iconography of Hermes was considered compatible with the new spirit, his association with trenches and the older funerary practices probably led to the abandonment of the subject.

As already noted, apart from Hermes, other deities only rarely appear on early 6th-century vases. The procession of deities to the house of Peleus decorating two *lebetes*, signed by Sophilos as a painter,⁷⁰ is the only occasion, where the Olympian family is depicted. The theme is an Attic iconographic invention, not known from elsewhere.⁷¹ The Erskine *lebes* is well preserved,⁷² while the example from the Acropolis is fragmentary.⁷³ Most of the gods are identifiable by inscriptions, since not all of them have yet received their attributes. Hermes is shown on a chariot with Apollo, accompanied by three Muses.

Deities are depicted on two fragments of a *skyphos-krater*, also assigned to Sophilos and found on the Athenian Acropolis (fig. 13).⁷⁴ One of the female figures is inscribed ΠΑΝΔΡΟΣΟΣ, followed by her sister Aglauros and their father Kekrops. In front of the women, a partly preserved *kerykeion* could have been held by Hermes, who was probably guiding the figures. The second fragment preserved the head of a horse, the inscription ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ next to it, as well as the upper part of a bearded man alongside with a female figure, standing on a chariot. The couple has been interpreted as Poseidon and Amphitrite⁷⁵ and more recently as Zeus and Hera.⁷⁶ The scene is not easily interpreted. Sourvinou-Inwood saw the earliest depiction of the contest between Athena and Poseidon for the establishment of their cult in Athens, with Kekrops and his daughters, as well as other deities being present as witnesses.⁷⁷ This suggestion might be tempting, but the literary sources on which it was based, as well as the earliest representation of the myth on the Parthenon pediment are much later.⁷⁸

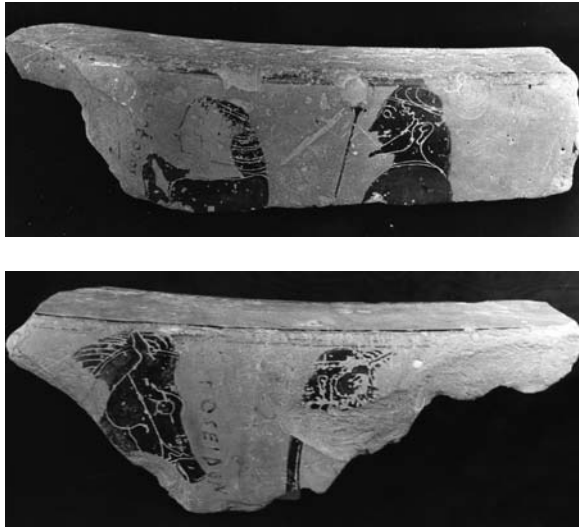


Fig. 13. Fragments of a skyphos-krater from the Acropolis. Athens, National Museum 585a-b (Courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens, © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund).

Given that the vessel was found on the Acropolis, its subject, obviously of an Attic origin, should be seen in association with the cults of the sanctuary. Aglauros and Pandrosos are closely related to Athena Polias.⁷⁹ Based on later archaeological evidence, Aglauros was worshipped in a cave on the east side of the Acropolis, while a little temple, dedicated to Pandrosos, was adjacent to the Erechtheion, where the tomb of Kekrops and an altar to Poseidon were situated. The scenes of this skyphos-krater verify then the relation of these deities with the patron goddess and their worship on the Acropolis extending back in time.⁸⁰ Even though depictions of Athena and her myths are prominent on 6th- and 5th-century vases, dedicated on the Acropolis, she is absent from early black-figured vases found at the sanctuary.⁸¹

The rarity of deities in the Attic early black-figure iconography could be seen in association with the circulation and the purposes of the vessels. As in the case of Protoattic pottery, the earliest black-figured vases are mostly concentrated at the Attic necropoleis, while the evidence from the contemporary sanctuaries is quite limited. Although 7th century saw an expansion of cult activities around Attica, there is a decline in the number of dedications at cult places, a reduction of luxury offerings, in comparison with the 8th, while the dedication of the Protoattic and the earliest black-figured vessels does not seem widespread.⁸² The context-

tual analysis of the 7th-century decorated pottery led to the conclusion that it was specially produced for the Attic nobility, mainly destined to serve its ritual needs, either connected with mortuary practices or tomb cults, since necropoleis rather than sanctuaries served as arenas of competition for the Attic élite.⁸³

Despite the sacred nature of the Acropolis, already established by the Late Geometric period and the possible existence of a temple and an altar, the number of the known 7th-century sherds, bronze tripods and fibulae is very limited.⁸⁴ The 7th century saw the flourishing of the peak sanctuaries, established at a number of sites around Attica, which played a vital role in religious life at that time. There, religious activity was mostly addressed to Zeus, worshipped as a rain god, in connection with vegetation and land's fertility. Subgeometric drinking shapes, rather than fine-decorated pottery, were the common votive-offerings, in many cases bearing dedicatory inscriptions.⁸⁵ The predominance of undecorated vessels at these sanctuaries, which was dictated by the nature of the cult, did not therefore allow for the dedication of vases decorated with scenes which could allude to deities or cult activities. The appearance of Hermes in the Attic iconography by the last quarter of the 7th century on the amphora fragment from the area of Olympieion and slightly later clearly as *psychopompos* on a number of vessels from the Attic necropoleis are indications of the importance of the necropoleis and funerary practices for the clientele of these vases.

On the other hand, the discovery of early 6th-century vases, decorated with Hermes or other deities, in sanctuaries, like the dinos and the skyphos-krater by Sophilos, can be considered as indications of the increasing interest attracted by sanctuaries, in particular the Acropolis, expressed by the larger number of vase-dedications. In contrast to the last quarter of the 7th century, by the early 6th, only a few fine-decorated vessels by the most productive Athenian painters found their way to the Attic cemeteries (among them those depicting Hermes between the hybrids), while the majority comes from the Athenian Agora, the Acropolis and the sanctuary of the Nymph on its south slope. At the same time, cult activities at the Attic peak sanctuaries are declining and pottery dedications on the Athenian Acropolis are increasing. The sanctuary of Athena is becoming the most important cult site in Attica. A number of architectural terracottas, the earliest of which date around 620 to 600 BC, consisting of antefixes and eave tiles, belong to three small buildings,

which probably stood on the rock at that time, but whose function is not clear.⁸⁶ The prominent role of the sanctuary as the centre of Athenian religious life was to be further underlined by the reorganization of the Panathenaia and the establishment of the first monumental religious buildings by the second quarter of the 6th century.⁸⁷ Despite the scanty character of the extant evidence, the appearance of deities on a number of early 6th-century vases contrasts with their -almost complete- late 7th-century absence. Although Hermes retained his funerary role and appears on vases found in necropoleis, he is also present in cultic contexts, pointing to the changes that are taking place in Attica at that time, with the sanctuaries and especially the Acropolis gradually attracting greater interest.

The first quarter of the 6th century represents for Attica an era of changes, marking the first steps towards a new epoch, as indicated by the archaeological evidence, which confirms the known historical tradition. The Solonian regulations seem to be closely related to the archaeologically visible changes in funerary customs and the increasing importance of sanctuaries and cultic activities. The present study attempted to show that the early black-figured depictions of Hermes could be also brought into discussion and contribute to a closer approach of the contemporary social background, when the archaeological context of the examined vases is taken into serious consideration.

NOTES

- 1 For the corinthianising character of the Attic production at that time, cf. Boardman 1995, 1-14.
- 2 For an overview of the mythological scenes in early black-figured iconography: Shapiro 1990, 114-148.
- 3 For Sophilos cf. especially: Bakır 1981; Brownlee 1988, 80-87; 1995, 363-372; Baurain-Rebillard 1999, 155-160.
- 4 Herakleion Museum, 3157, Lebesi 1985, pl. 1.A1, Herakleion Museum 3158, Lebesi 1985, pl. 2.A2; 1985, 84-87, 155-162.
- 5 Lebesi 1985, 158-179.
- 6 Delos Archaeological Museum, 1355, Zapheirópoulou 2003, 43-44, pl. 63.80.
- 7 Berlin, Pergamonmuseum, F1682, now lost, *ABV* 5.4, *Para* 2.8, *Add²* 2, Beazley 1951, pl. 5.2.
- 8 Shapiro 1990, 135-136; Hölscher 1999, 17-20; 2000, 289-291; Arvanitaki 2006, 228-229.
- 9 For the urbanization of Athens and Attica: Morris 1987, 62-69, 81-87, 171-210; Osborne 1989, 297-322; D'Onofrio 1997, 79-84; Mersch 1996; 1997, 45-62. Arvanitaki associated the presence of Herakles in Corinthian vase-painting with the development of the *polis*: Arvanitaki 2006, 229.
- 10 Athens, National Museum, *Para* 5.2, Brann 1959, pl. 44.3.
- 11 Brann 1959.

- 12 Athens, Kerameikos Museum, 1295, Kübler 1970, pl. 76, 90.
- 13 Paris, Musée du Louvre, F874, *ABV* 8.1, *Para* 6, *Add²* 2, Tiverios 1996, pl. 22.
- 14 Rhodos Museum, 6474, *ABV* 24.2, Lioutas 1987, pl. 12.
- 15 Athens, National Museum, 12587, *ABV* 40.24, Bakır 1981, pl. 18.
- 16 For the Judgment of Paris in general: Clairmont 1951; Raab 1972; Siebert 1990, 324-326, nos 453-480; Kossatz-Deissmann 1994, 176-188. For the Attic scenes, see in particular: Lemos 2009.
- 17 Athens, National Museum, 19185.
- 18 The scene on the Vari hydria is the earliest depiction of indecisive Paris. The same scheme is followed on a fragment by the KX Painter, where only Paris is preserved in an attempt to escape the judgement: Berlin, Antikensammlung, F3987, *ABV* 25.16, *Add²* 7, Beazley 1951, pl. 16.4.
- 19 New Jersey, private, *Para* 14.2quater, *Add²* 7, Beazley Archive Pottery Database 350067. It is generally accepted that the three figures are the goddesses led to Paris. On the other hand, Tiverios questioned this interpretation and considered them as Nymphs or Charites. Tiverios 1981, 23, n. 36.
- 20 London, British Museum, B32, *ABV* 11.16, *Para* 8, Beazley Archive Pottery Database 300099; Basel, H. Cahn, HC342, Kreuzer 1992, 28, 16.
- 21 Athens, National Museum, 19159, *ABV* 14.11, *ABV* 28.4, *Para* 9, Scheibler 1961, fig. 36.
- 22 Athens, Kerameikos Museum, 2870, *Para* 15, Vierendeel 1964, pl. 38, a.
- 23 London, British Museum, 1905.7-11.4, *ABV* 24.3, Lioutas 1987, pls 9-11.
- 24 Athens, Kerameikos Museum, 46, Kübler 1970, pl. 101.
- 25 Athens, National Museum 19191, Bakır 1981, pls 72-75.
- 26 Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Collection 1.757, *ABV* 39.10, Bakır 1981, pl. 24.
- 27 Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Collection 1.499, 1.500, AP1234, *ABV* 42.3, Bakır 1981, pl. 88, C7. On the skyphos-krater the male figure is partly preserved and it is not clear whether he is holding a *kerykeion*.
- 28 Athens, Fetiche Tjami, 1957-Aa 9, Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1997, pl. 34.174. The male figure on a loutrophoros also by Sophilos might be Hermes: Athens, Fetiche Tjami, 1957-Aa 432, Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1997, pl. 35.175.
- 29 The male figure is only partly preserved. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, G128.20, *ABV* 38.4, Bakır 1981, pl. 65.
- 30 Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, *ABV* 38.3, Bakır 1981, pl. 25.
- 31 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1941.913, CVA Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1, pl. 18.
- 32 Eleusis Museum 2692.
- 33 Delos Museum B 6.196, Dugas 1928, pl. XXVI, 331b.
- 34 Delos Museum B 6.296, Dugas 1928, pl. XXVI, 357.
- 35 For Hermes in the Corinthian iconography: Payne 1931, 142-143; Amyx 1988, 622-623.
- 36 *Il.* 14.490. *Od.* 16.434ff. Chittenden 1947, 90-93, 105.
- 37 For Hermes as master of animals: Siebert 1990, 380-381.
- 38 Herakleion Museum, Boardman 1961, fig. 50B. Müller 1978, 54; Blome 1982, 65-67.
- 39 Representations of men and women between animals are known from the Geometric period, horses and goats being more common. For these scenes, cf. Spartz 1962, 40-41; Rombos 1988, 275-283.
- 40 Spartz 1962, 40-41; Müller 1978, 146-154; Lambrinoudakis 1997, 558-559.

- 41 Paris, Musée du Louvre, F874, ABV 8.1, *Para* 6, *Add*² 2, Tiverios 1996, pl. 22.
- 42 Paris, Musée du Louvre, CA927, ABV 25.13, Payne 1931, pl. 51, 3.
- 43 Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, ZV1464, ABV 21.1, *Add*² 7, Lioutas 1987, pl. 18.
- 44 Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, 1958IV223, *Para* 8, 19bis, *Add*² 3, Williams 1986, fig. 3; Berlin, Antikensammlungen, 3746, ABV 11.19, *Para* 8, Williams 1986, fig. 2a.
- 45 Lambrinoudakis 1984, 221-233.
- 46 Spartz 1962, 40-41; Müller 1978, 212.
- 47 According to Zanker, the lack of a clear connection between the god and the hybrids suggests that the scenes indicate Hermes' birth. His interpretation was based on the male figure, interpreted as Zeus, depicted together with Hermes, on the shoulder of a neck-amphora by Sophilos, now in Florence (Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, ABV 38.3, Bakir 1981, pl. 25). Even if the male figure is pointing to Zeus, there is no iconographic evidence sustaining that the scenes of Hermes among animals imply the god's birth. For this view: Zanker 1965, 28-29.
- 48 Verdelis 1951, 1-37; Demisch 1977; Müller 1978, 158-163; Kourou 1979; Woysch-Méautis 1982, 83-87; Vollkommer 1991, 47-64; Walter-Karydi 2002, 63-70. For the sphinx: Demisch 1977; Kourou 1997, 1149-1174.
- 49 *Od.* 12.39-46, 158-160, 197-200, 23.326. For sirens, cf. Hofstetter 1990; 1997, 1093-1114; Tsiafakis 2001, esp. 7, 18-21.
- 50 E.g. Plato, *Cra.* 403d; *Apol.Rh. Argon.* 4.896-897. For these sources, cf. Hofstetter 1990, 13-28; Tsiafakis 2003, 77-78.
- 51 Woysch-Méautis 1982, 91-99.
- 52 Tsiafakis 2003, 74-78.
- 53 See for example: *Il.* 24.153, 182, 373, 437, 439, 461. *Od.* 16.471, 10.277, 280, 286. Siebert 1990, 286-287.
- 54 *Od.* 11.625-626.
- 55 *Od.* 24.1-14. For Hermes *psychopompos*: Burkert 1987, 157-158; Zanker 1965, 104-111; Karusu 1961; Bérard 1974, 25-27, 129-131, 141-145; Lebesi 1985, 177-178 and especially Sourvinou-Inwood 1996, 103-106, 304-321.
- 56 Trenches remain in use until the early 5th century in the Attic countryside, as indicated by the evidence from the north necropolis of Vari and the Marathon tumulus. For the use of trenches in Attica, cf. Alexandridou 2009.
- 57 For the offering trenches, cf.: Kübler 1970, 87-92; Kurtz/Boardman 1971, 75, 145; Houby-Nielsen 1992; D'Onofrio 1993; Houby-Nielsen 1995, 129-192, 1996, 41-54; Kistler 1998, 31-77, 147-171. The trench-finds have been approached differently by scholars. Kübler saw them as grave offerings, D'Onofrio as remains of a meal. The detailed analysis of the finds underlines a close connection with the symposium, as shown by Houby-Nielsen and Kistler.
- 58 For a list of white-ground lekythoi with Hermes as *psychopompos*: Oakley 2004, 137-144. For the iconography of Hermes *psychopompos*, see also: Karusu 1961, 91-106.
- 59 According to Kourou, the association of sphinx with Hermes is 'simply decorative': Kourou 1997, 1165.
- 60 See, for example, scenes on loutrophoroi from the Sanctuary of the Nymph: Athens, Fetiche Tjami, 1957-Aa 2638, Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1997, pl. 27.134; Athens, Fetiche Tjami, 1957-Aa 174, Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1997, pl. 37.191; Athens, Fetiche Tjami, 1957-Aa 30, Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1997, pl. 18.97.
- 61 The main sources for Solon's reforms are: Aristotle's *Athenian Constitution* and Plutarch's *Life of Solon*. For the laws that can be more securely associated with Solon: Rhodes 2006.
- 62 Shapiro 1996, 127-133.
- 63 For *Anthesia*, cf. Burkert 1983, 213-243, 1987, 237-242; Hamilton 1992, 5-62; Parker 2005, 290-316.
- 64 *Plut. Sol.* 12.7-9, 21.1-2, 21.5-7; *Dem.* 43.62; *Dem.* 20.104; *Cic. Leg.* 2.59, 2.60, 2.63-66.
- 65 Kurtz/Boardman 1971, 121-122; Garland 1985, 22; Seaford 1994, 84-85; Engels 1998.
- 66 Alexiou 1974, 14-15.
- 67 Blok 2006, 197-247.
- 68 Sourvinou-Inwood 1983, 44-48; D'Onofrio 1993, 143-171; Morris 1989; 1992-1993; Houby-Nielsen 1995.
- 69 D'Onofrio 1982; 1988; 1993, 169; Viviers 1992, 219-221.
- 70 Bakir 1981, 5-6. For Sophilos' epic themes, cf. Brownlee 1995, 367-368; Baurain-Rebillard 1999, 134-138, 155-160.
- 71 The earliest representation of the couple on the wedding chariot appears on a Cycladic amphora: Kavala Museum, 1068, Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, fig. 68.
- 72 London, British Museum, 1971.11-1.1, *Para* 19.16bis, Bakir 1981, pls 1-2.
- 73 Athens, National Museum, Acropolis Collection, 1.587, ABV 39.15, *Add*² 10, Bakir 1981, pl. 3.5.
- 74 Athens, National Museum, 585a-b, ABV 40.17, ABV 40.18, Bakir 1981, pls 35-36. For this skyphos-krater: Bakir 1981, 26-27; Shapiro 1989, 104-105, 1995, 40-41; Kilmer/Develin 2001, 26-27.
- 75 Bakir 1981, 26-27, 68; Shapiro 1989, 104-105.
- 76 Sourvinou-Inwood 2008, 129.
- 77 Sourvinou-Inwood 2008.
- 78 Moreover, as also noticed by the author, there is no black-figure depiction of Poseidon riding a horse.
- 79 Kearns 1989, 24-27, 60-61, 139-140, 192-193; Burkert 1990, 40-59; Lupu 2005, 146-147; Parker 2005, 216-217, 221-222, 427, 434, 449.
- 80 Bakir 1981, 27; Kron 1981, 294; Shapiro 1989, 101-102, 104-105; Travlos 1971, 72, 213-214; Hurwit 1999, 204.
- 81 Wagner 1997, 74-83.
- 82 Osborne 1989, 303-309; Polignac 1995, 75-81; D'Onofrio 1995, 60, fig. 2.
- 83 Whitley 1994, 61. However, Whitley has been criticized for a selective use of the statistics from the Agora wells and for not explaining adequately the presence of these vessels in domestic contexts: Rotroff 1995, 123-124.
- 84 Hurwit 1999, 94-95. For a detailed analysis of the clay and metal finds from the Acropolis: Wagner 1997, 26-85, 143-171. The bronze lebetes dedicated to the Athenian Acropolis belong to the late 8th century. Touloupa 1972, 57-76. For the Geometric temple on the Acropolis: Hurwit 1999, 95-97; Brouskari 2000, 153-158, 203-211.
- 85 For the peak sanctuaries: Osborne 1989, 307-309; Morris 1997, 222-228; D'Onofrio, 1995; 1997; Polignac 1995; 2002, 119-122; Baumer 2004, 13-17.
- 86 Vlassopoulou 1990, nos 1-10; Winter 2003, 213.
- 87 Korres 1996, 57-100, 1997; 218-243; Hurwit 1999, 98; Brouskari 2000, 153-158; Holtzmann 2003, 75-81. Five poros pediments dating to 570-550 BC probably belong to three to five small-scale buildings, whose location on the Acropolis and function remain inconclusive. For a detailed discussion: Bookidis 1975, 22-33.

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Orientalizing infant burials from Gabii, Italy

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Abstract

In recent decades data provided by funerary archaeology has revolutionized our understanding of the proto-urban landscapes of Latium in the early Iron Age. The data that provide a compelling argument for the emergence of fixed systems of social hierarchy contribute greatly to the study of the first wave of urbanism that transformed the Italian peninsula. The discovery in 2009 of two elite infant burials in the Latin city of Gabii contributes to this narrative, as these sub-adults were interred with grave goods that attest to the presence of a system of inherited social rank and thus provide important testimony about Gabii in the Orientalizing period. The funerary data presented here holds the potential of eventually being contextualized alongside settlement data from Gabii.

INTRODUCTION*

The evidence stemming from funerary contexts in Central Italy has, in recent years, substantially influenced the degree to which archaeologists may glean some understanding of the dynamics of the early Iron Age peoples. These cultures typically leave few other material remains in the record but employ funerary practices that preserve traces of information about behavior and society. The discovery in 2009 of two elite infant burials at Gabii in Latium Vetus offers an opportunity to discuss two well-preserved funerary assemblages from Iron Age Latium and the current scientific methodologies employed to document such archaeological finds. Additionally, these two newly explored tombs find comparisons in the *necropoleis* of other Latin sites such as Osteria dell'Osa and Ficana, and yet also represent a new chapter in the Sabine funerary record. The ability to precisely document the tombs and their contents *in situ* represents an important application of digital technology to the archaeology of Italy which while not illustrative of a newly invented methodology nevertheless demonstrates afresh the utility and viability of such documentation particularly in the case of fragile funerary contexts.

TOPOGRAPHY OF GABII - 'AREA A'

The two tombs described in this article were discovered during the course of excavations in July 2009. The excavation campaign of the Gabii Project, under the auspices of the University of Michigan and the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma (hereafter SAR) focused on an approximately 1 ha area of the archaic urban cen-

ter of Gabii, a primate city-state in Latium, some 18 km east of Rome (fig. 1). During 2007 and 2008 approximately 40 ha of Gabii's urban area was the subject of a geophysical survey that resulted in the selection of two tracts for excavation.¹ The northerly tract, located under the administrative umbrella of the SAR, is positioned on the downslope of the extinct volcanic crater of Castiglione, adjacent to other portions of Gabii's urban center excavated by the SAR and other entities in previous years (fig. 2). The main topographical feature within the excavation area is a side street of the ancient city layout that was identified by survey and that traverses the excavation area from south to north, ascending the downward slope of the volcanic crater (fig. 3). To the west of this street, in a sector marked as 'Area A', excavation operations uncovered, at a relatively shallow depth, the



Fig. 1. Map showing location of Gabii in Central Italy.

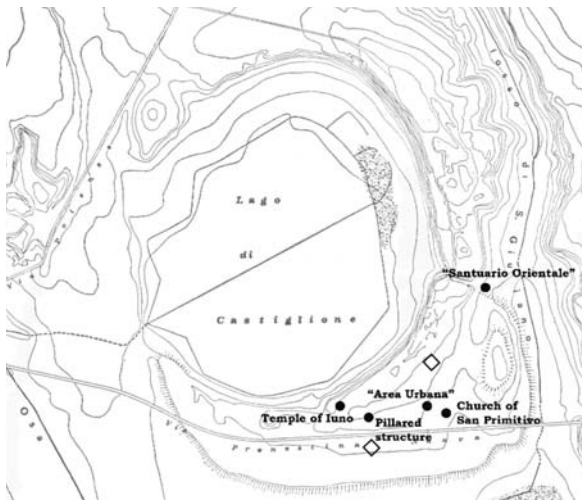


Fig. 2. Map showing location of Gabii Project excavation areas.

tuff bedrock of the volcanic slope into which over 100 anthropic features of varying sizes were cut. The nature of these features varied in terms of size, shape, and preservation. In most cases the combined processes of water infiltration and natural and mechanical erosion had truncated or otherwise destroyed the archaeological deposits that were likely once associated with these features, creating a challenging interpretative situation. While some of the bedrock features are likely associated with a tuff quarry discovered in the northern part of the sector, others were likely funereal in their original usage. In the midst of these truncated features that had been largely stripped of stratigraphic deposits emerged two intact fossa-type tombs, located within an area that surface survey has shown to be densely populated by the end of the 6th century BC.² These tombs were cut directly into the bedrock surface, oriented on a north-south axis. These tombs, here-



Fig. 3. Aerial photograph of 'Area A'.

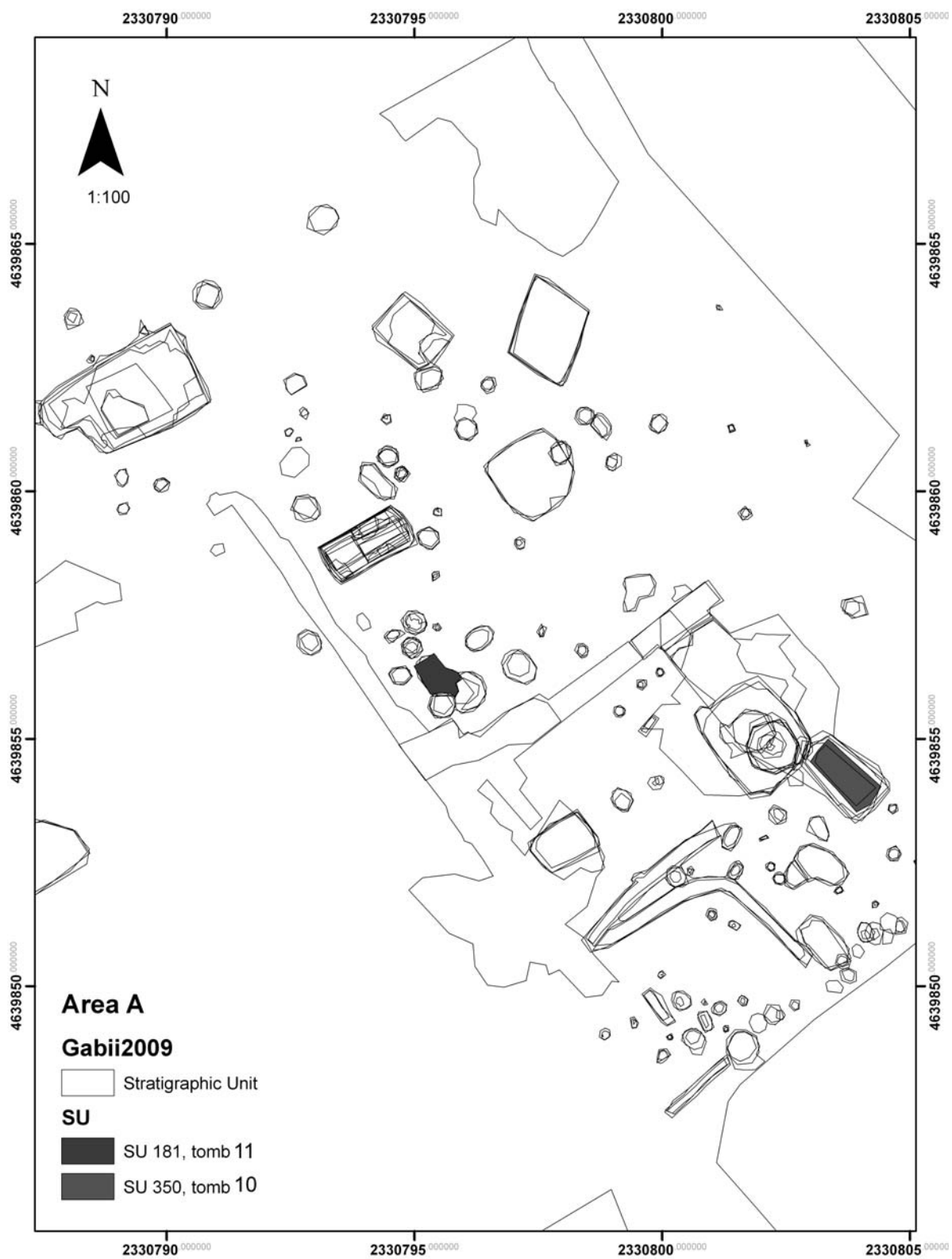


Fig. 4. General state plan of 'Area A'.

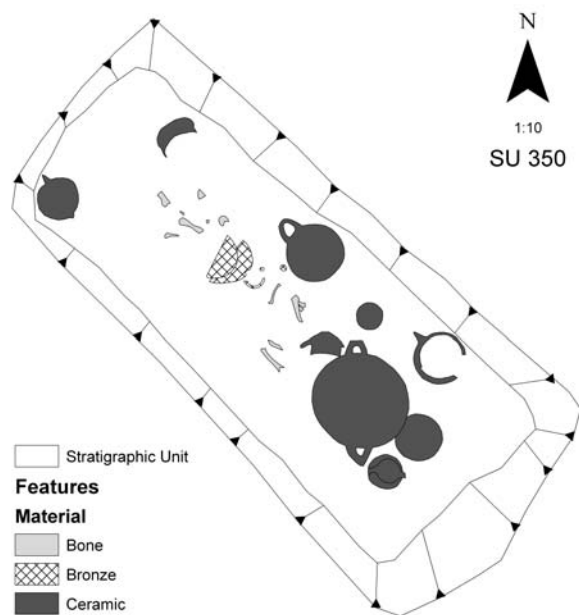
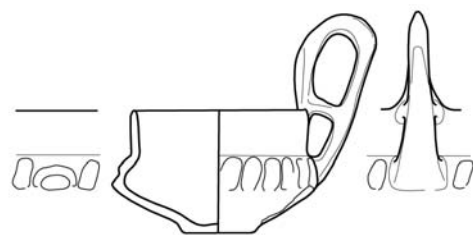
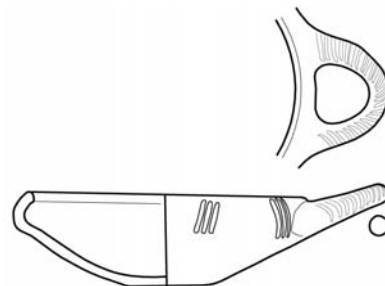


Fig. 5. Plan of Tomb 10 showing in situ position of grave goods.



SU 338 - d



SU 341



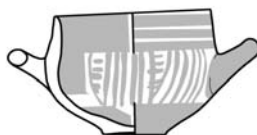
SU 345 - 5



SU 347



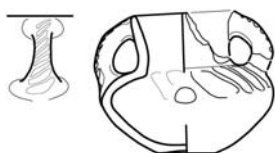
SU 340



SU 337 - 2



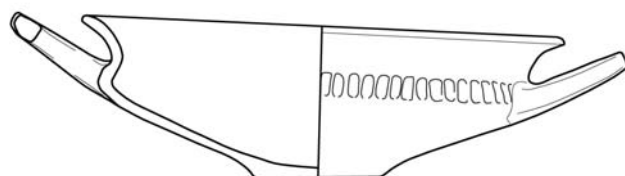
SU 342 - c



SU 339 - 1



SU 344



SU 343



Fig. 6. Table showing funerary assemblage from Tomb 10.

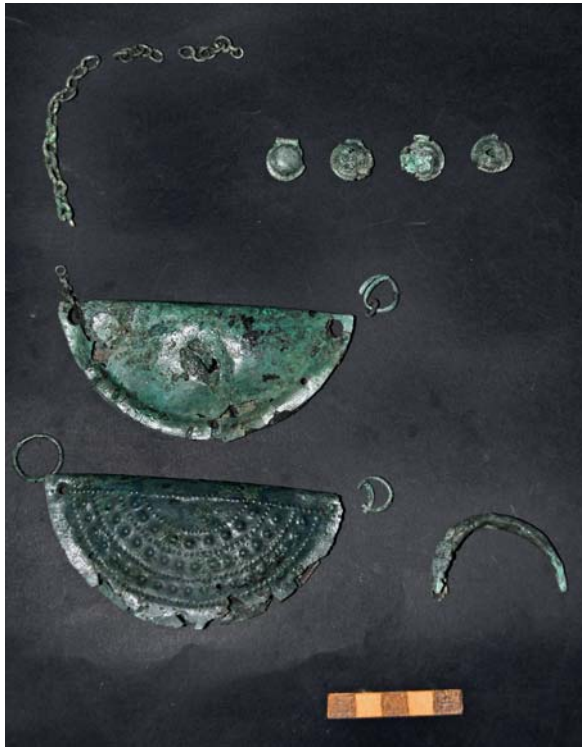


Fig. 7. Photograph showing bronze ornamentation from Tomb 10.

in labeled Tomb 10 and Tomb 11, proved to be the best preserved archaeological features investigated within Area A during the 2009 campaign (fig. 4). It seems clear, however, that the two tombs discussed here - both of which date from the first half of the 1st millennium BC - likely pre-date many of the other surrounding bedrock features and that their preservation can be attributed to a deep original cutting that subsequently afforded protection from later disturbances and intrusions, including plowing. The following report shall present a summary of the contents of each tomb and will also discuss the methodological approach to documentation employed in the field as well as the implications of these infant tombs for the archaeology of early Latium.

TOMB 10

Tomb 10 is a north-south oriented *fossa* tomb (SU 181) cut into the tuff bedrock and was excavated and studied at the end of July 2009. The tomb cut measures approximately 1.05 m long and 0.26 m deep (fig. 5). Sheer sides characterize the *fossa*, as does a relatively level floor upon which the deceased and the accompanying grave goods were

deposited. On the basis of the anthropological evidence, the deceased was placed in a supine position and while the skeletal remains are extremely degraded, the preliminary data suggests an individual of 1.5 to 2 years of age, determined on the basis of dentition.³

An elaborate funerary assemblage accompanied the deceased, composed of 10 ceramic vessels and eight pieces of bronze ornamentation (figs 6, 7). The ceramic elements of the funerary assemblage, for the most part, were positioned at the feet of the deceased while the bronzes decorated the torso and upper body; two vessels, in fact, were positioned so as to frame the head of the inhumant. The ceramic assemblage consists of high quality vessels in *impasto* fabric that, with the exception of an over-painted Geometric skyphos, all have burnished surfaces.

TOMB 11

Tomb 11 was discovered in close proximity to other anthropic features cut into the bedrock. This tomb is composed of an oblong, rectilinear *fossa* with the addition of a rock-cut *loculus* along the eastern side of the tomb (fig 8).⁴ The tomb measures roughly 1.05 m long and 0.25 m deep, although its plan is not completely regular. Post-depositional intervention caused serious disturbance to the remains of the individual buried in

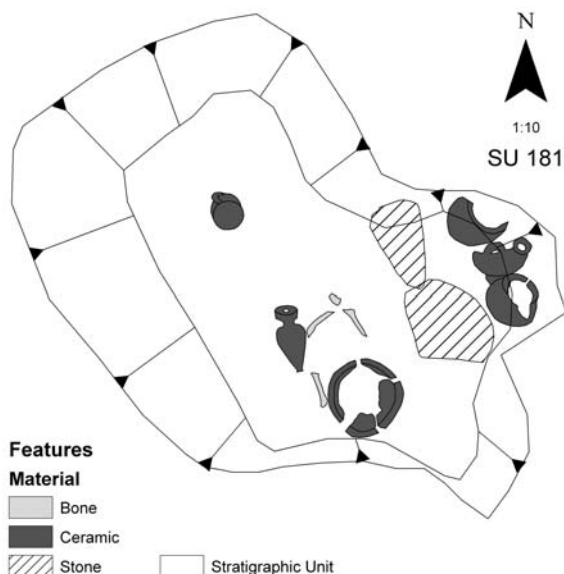


Fig. 8. Plan of Tomb 11 showing in situ position of grave goods.

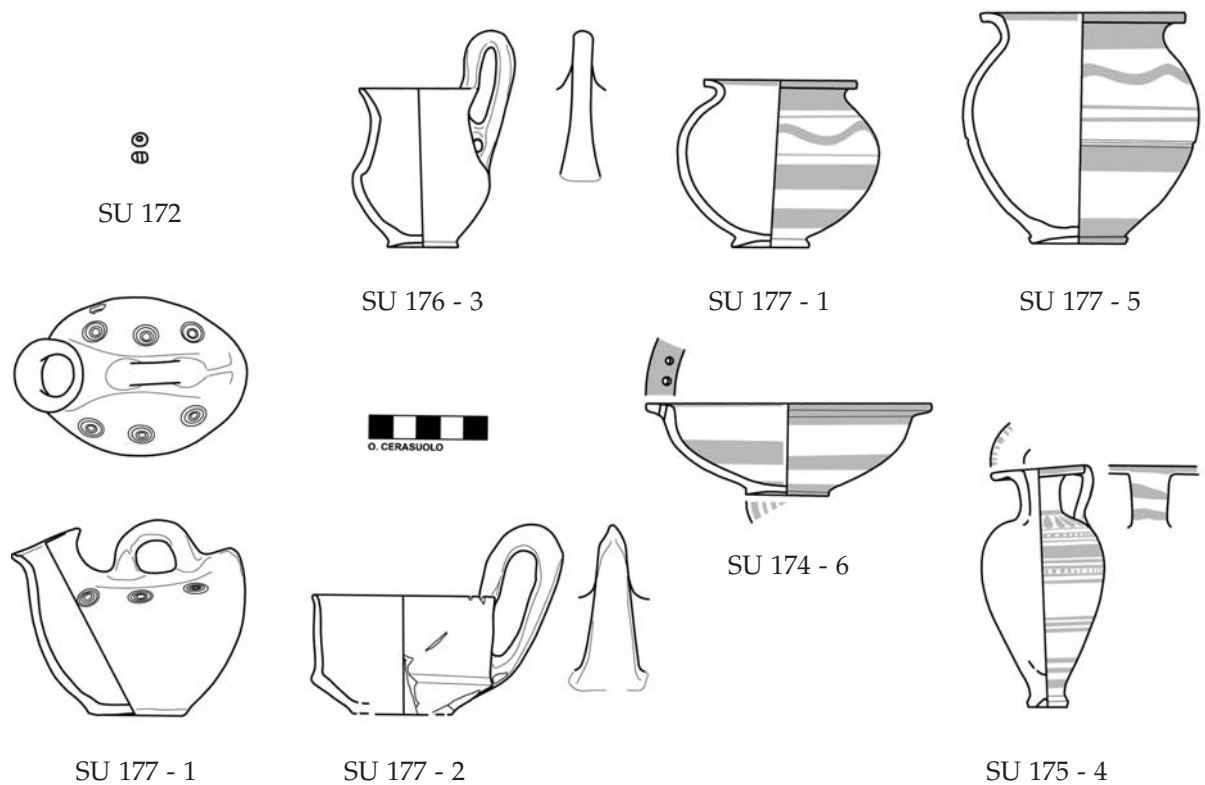


Fig. 9. Table showing ceramic funerary assemblage from Tomb 11.



Fig. 10. Photograph of impasto askos from Tomb 11 (SU 177-1).

the tomb; a preliminary examination of the bones shows evidence of what is likely post-depositional animal turbation. This is most evident in the form of two punctures caused by the teeth of a small carnivore visible on the fragmentary remains of the left tibia.⁵ In terms of the physical limit of the *fossa*, a later circular cutting in the bedrock surface interrupted the southwest corner of the tomb, but

this event does not seem to have disturbed the tomb's contents in any measurable way.

The assemblage of grave goods consisted of seven ceramic vessels and one bead (fig. 9). The grave goods had been positioned carefully in the tomb with three vessels positioned around the inhumant (T. 11, nos 1 through 3) and the other five (T. 11, nos 4 through 8) placed in the stone-cut *loculus* along the eastern side of the tomb. The *loculus* assembly comprised two Etrusco-Corinthian vessels and two *impasto* vessels, including an askos with stamped designs (fig. 10). The *loculus* was further protected by the placement of two stones that served to effectively close off the opening.

Documentation

In the case of both tombs, the delicate nature of the archaeological context required quick attention during the excavation process but at the same time demanded careful and exact documentation. Traditional excavation methodology recommends that tombs, like most archaeological features, be drawn by the triangulation method in order to record the position of any human re-

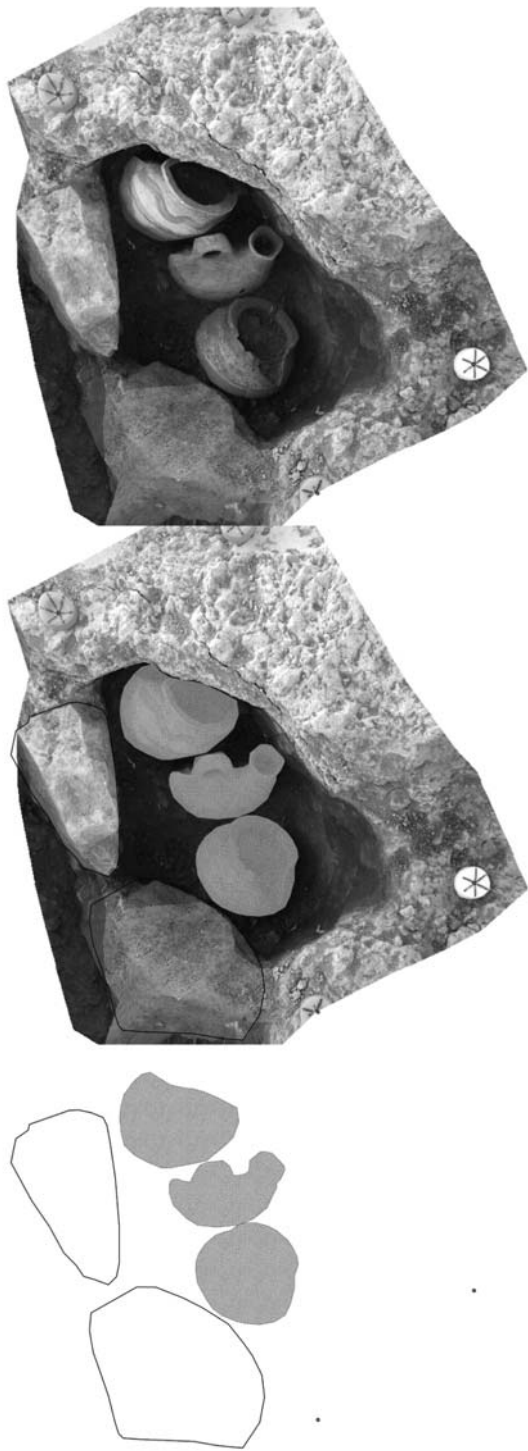


Fig. 11. Geo-referenced orthorectified photographs are used to digitize the finds from the infant burials. From the top down: Geo-referenced orthorectified photograph, Digitization of the finds from the photograph, Final vector data in the site GIS.

mains as well as any artifacts within the context of the tomb. The fieldwork at Gabii instead employs a different approach to the documentation of such features, namely photogrammetry. While this technique has been in use in recent years, it does not enjoy wide application in Italy. The use of photogrammetric documentation at Gabii represents a new phase in the application of this technique within the context of urban archaeology in Italy. Advances in digital recording technology allow for a more rapid and more accurate recording process that produces not only first rate documentary data, but also can produce three-dimensional digital reconstructions of archaeological contexts.

Field Methodology

Photogrammetry in archaeological documentation is certainly not a new development, although it has been recently overlooked due to the increased utilization of more expensive means such as laser scanners. New developments in software and digital photography, however, have made photogrammetry a much more efficient and cost-effective choice, while at the same time delivering similar results as more expensive and time consuming techniques.

The Gabii Project uses photogrammetry, and the PhotoModeler Scanner software specifically,⁶ to document complex or important finds and surfaces for two primary purposes.⁷ The first is the creation of orthorectified, geo-referenced photographs used for digitization of finds and contextualization of drawings (*fig. 11*). The use of geo-referenced photographs for digitization of layers is not a new one, but Photomodeler software dramatically cuts down the amount of time needed in the field. Photographs can be taken at any angle and orthorectified through the software, making the use of quad-pods or other leveling devices unnecessary. For complex assemblages, such as burials, the time needed to traditionally document each find would completely halt the excavation for an extended period of time. In burials where materials are in danger of degradation and under threat of looting, long periods of exposure can be extremely detrimental. By using this methodology, however, we are able to precisely determine the three-dimensional location of objects and to plan from the orthorectified photograph. Since the model is tied within the local coordinate system, it can be integrated into the site GIS, allowing for its contextualization in three-dimensions with other finds and surfaces throughout the site.

The second purpose is to generate point meshes

of the surface to convey its topography and to build a three-dimensional model.⁸ The PhotoModeler Scanner extension allows for the creation of dense surface meshes with points at a specified interval (the majority of our projects use a 2 mm spacing) (fig. 12). This produces results that are similar to a terrestrial laser scanner, but at a fraction of the cost (only the digital camera and the software itself) and set-up time. The detailed three-dimensional models that are then produced assist in the visualization of archaeological features and create a type of documentation that is much more realistic and complete than either traditional plans drawn by hand or two-dimensional photography.

INFANT BURIALS IN LATIUM

Infant burials in Iron Age Latium are well attested archaeologically and the visibility of these tombs makes a clear statement about the role of infant burials in Latin society.⁹ The visibility of these tombs in the record also attests to the high rate of infant mortality in the ancient Mediterranean world.¹⁰ The study of this class of tombs has intensified in recent years in light of major excavations like those at Osteria dell'Osa, Ficana, Satricum, and the Palatine Hill in Rome.¹¹

In Rome the phenomenon of infant burials is well attested in the archaeological record. Einar Gjerstad excavated numerous infant and child tombs in the late 1940s and 1950s, and, like Giacomo Boni before him, concentrated on the Iron Age necropolis adjacent to the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina.¹² Gjerstad also excavated tombs on the Palatine Hill itself, including the rich tomb of a child beneath the Aula Regia that dates to the second half of the 7th century BC (Latial IVB) and was presumed to be associated with a hut. This rich tomb included one imported aryballos (ca 640-625 BC) as well as two 'imitation' aryballoi (IVB).¹³ At Ficana (Monte Cugno) along the *via Ostiense*, a total of 21 infant and child tombs were excavated, with some being *a fossa* and others *a vaso* (*enchytrismos*) burials.¹⁴ The funerary custom at Ficana is analogous to the evidence uncovered by Gjerstad in Rome. In chronological terms, the Ficana burials are concentrated in the Latial IIIB-C and Latial IVA periods. The archaeological evidence from numerous other Latin sites, including Castel di Decima, Acqua Acetosa Laurentina, Satricum, Ardea, and Lavinium - Pratica di Mare, show that the custom of infant and child burial is widespread in Latium and we should note that this distinctly Latin habit differs from the contemporary customs of Etruria where sub-adult burials are

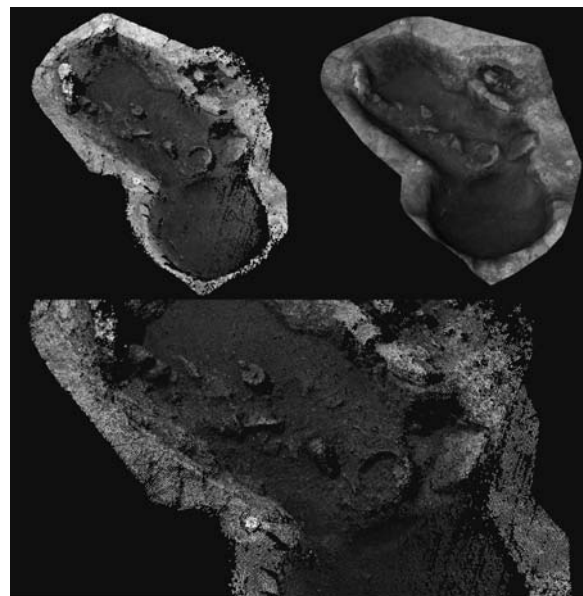


Fig. 12. Three-dimensional model from PhotoModeler Scanner. Clockwise from top left: Point mesh of surface at 2 mm spacing, Surface created from point mesh, Closer view of point mesh.

often not spatially discrete from adult funerary populations.¹⁵ It is worthwhile to note that Pliny the Elder discussed the phenomenon of infant burials that took place within or very near to the context of the Roman house.¹⁶ These tombs, known as *subgrundaria* (literally meaning 'beneath the eaves'), existed already in the early Iron Age as the infant depositions investigated by Gjerstad and others in and around the *Sepulcretum* in Rome are located in proximity to the foundations of Iron Age huts. The placement of the burials may also serve to delimit, in a spatial sense, the boundaries of the household, marking them as distinct from an adjoining boundary or the neighboring house.

Pliny goes on to remark that infant burials were treated as inhumations since it was not the custom (*mos gentium*) to cremate individuals before they cut their first teeth.¹⁷ The liminal status of infants even affected the grieving process, as recorded by authors including Plutarch who laments the untimely death of the 'newly born' but also feels these deaths are borne more easily than others¹⁸ and that a ritual prohibition attributed to Numa prevented mourning for anyone less than three years of age.¹⁹

The phenomenon of archaeologically visible infant and child burials with grave goods in Latium is one whose incipit is to be connected

with the Latial III period (ca 770-730 BC). In the Latial II phase, there are generally no elaborate assemblages; when they are present, they tend to be simple, with the most common ceramic form being the two-handled, footed vase and deep cups with biforal handles (forms 10 and 22). Additionally, the presence of used, and often broken, vessels characterize early Latial II child tombs.²⁰ From the Latial III period onwards, infant and child tombs are often found within or in close association with houses, but it is not known if this behavior continues the behavior of earlier periods (i.e. Latial I and Latial II).²¹

Chronology of the Gabii Tombs

The chronology of the two tombs described above is of course a key issue and the ability to contextualize these tombs benefits enormously from the vast and reasonably well-published scholarship connected with this cultural phenomenon. The funerary assemblage of Tomb 10 allows it to be dated to the Latial IIIB to Latial IVA1 phases (second half of the 8th to the beginning of the 7th centuries BC). As the comparisons above suggest, the grave goods find numerous close parallels with artifacts known from Osteria dell'Osa as well as other Latin sites, including new sites that continue to be uncovered. It is also important to note the close analogy, in terms of comparable artifacts, that can be made between the Gabine tombs and the tombs collected and published by Gierow from the area of Latium in proximity to Lake Nemi and Lake Albano. The high quality *impasto* vessels, along with the bronze ornamentation, attest to the elite nature of the burial. The grave goods find close comparison with the infant tombs from the Via Sacra necropolis in Rome and with those from the minor acropolis of Lavinium-Pratica di Mare.²² Additionally, the adornment of the inhumant with the bronze pendants and bosses underscores the important place of ritual and apotropaic devices in Iron Age funerary customs.²³

Tomb 11, on the other hand, is more recent than Tomb 10. Here the overall date of the grave assemblage relates to the Latial phases IVA2 to IVb, or the middle of the Orientalizing period (mid 7th to early 6th centuries BC). Of particular note within the funerary assemblage is the *impasto* askos (fig. 10). While other askoi are present in the literature relevant to Iron Age tombs in Latium, this particular form is not well attested. Its form differs noticeably from the other ceramic vessels in this assemblage, contrasting starkly with the painted Etrusco-Corinthian wares made of a light fabric.

This askos may well reproduce an ancient form originating in the Final Bronze Age and extending into the Latial I period.²⁴ This would seem to indicate that the askos is a particularly important vessel and that its placement in the tomb may have held a special ritual significance, perhaps analogous to the placement of the apotropaic *bullae* in Tomb 10.

CONCLUSIONS

The Gabii tombs, taken together with the other archaeological evidence pertaining to infant burial in 1st millennium BC Latium, underscore the importance of this funerary custom and indicate that the Latin people attached a special social significance to the burial of elite infants. Pliny the Elder's discussion reflects the lasting significance of this special funerary practice and suggests that in the Iron Age funerary record, infants enjoy a special status. While hundreds of tombs are known archaeologically from the environs and immediate outskirts of Gabii (viz. Osteria dell'Osa), the discovery of Geometric and Orientalizing burials within the urban center itself represents a new archaeological horizon, one that offers a potentially unique circumstance to contextualize subadult burials in a new way, effectively examining and documenting these contexts that encapsulate important evidence about the processes of urbanism in central Italy.

CATALOG OF TOMB CONTENTS

Tomb 10 assemblage

1. Globular two-handled *impasto* vessel (SU 337-2)
Description: This *impasto* vessel has two cuspidate handles extending from the shoulder to the rim, each with three projections. The body is burnished and an *umbilicus* is present on the belly. The base is flat and the rim is plain. A series of vertical impressions decorate the belly and flank the attachment points of the handles.
Measurements: Height 10.3 cm; height with handle 13.9 cm; base diameter 4 cm; rim diameter 6.9 cm; handle diameter 1.0-1.3 cm.

Comparanda: OdO t. 558.1 (fig. 3c.62); OdO t. 552.7 (fig. 3c.64); OdO t. 264.4 (fig. 3b.46); OdO t. 148.2 (fig. 3c.25); OdO t. 63 (fig. 3c.27).

2. Brown *impasto* carinated cup (SU 338-d)
Description: The vessel has a flat base, cylindrical neck, a plain rim and a high, vertical, biforal handle extending from the rim to the shoulder. A finger-marked, pinched design decorates the carination.
Measurements: Height 6 cm; height with handle 10.7 cm; base diameter 3.5 cm; rim diameter 8.7 cm; handle diameter 0.8 cm.

Comparanda: OdO t. 204.4 (fig. 3c.33); OdO t. 301(M7).4; OdO t. 120.5; OdO t. 120.8; OdO t. 552(M3).8; Lucrezia Romana, II, 2003, tomb 2 [SAR inv. 518129] (Tomei 2006, 368 II.650).

3. Globular two-handled *impasto* vessel (SU 339)

Description: This two-handled vessel, now missing one of the handles, has an *umbilicus* on the belly. The surface has been burnished but is otherwise devoid of decoration.

Measurements: height 6.8 cm; base diameter 2.9 cm; rim diameter 4.9 cm; handle width 1.0-1.3 cm.

Comparanda: OdO t. 252.1 (fig. 3b.26); OdO t. 253.2 (fig. 3b.37).

4. Miniaturistic painted *impasto* skyphos (SU 340)

Description: This vessel is an over-painted, miniaturistic *impasto* skyphos. The piece was found entirely intact. The vessel has a slightly concave base, deep convex body with rounded shoulders, and the body from the shoulder to the rim is roughly vertical but curving slightly inward while the rim curves slightly outward. Two ring handles at the shoulder point obliquely outward and upward. A painted geometric design covers the skyphos and can be divided into three registers. The bottom third of the piece is covered by solid red paint. On the shoulder between the handles there is a series of six vertical lines separated by five horizontal lines that encircle the entire vessel. The upper third between the shoulder and the rim is filled with alternating horizontal lines encircling the vessel. The handles are painted.

Measurements: Height 5.6 cm; base diameter 2.8 cm; rim diameter 7.6 cm; handle diameter 0.9 cm.

Comparanda: OdO t. 109.8 (fig. 3a.37); OdO t. 392.7 (fig. 3a.301); OdO t. 562.5 (fig. 3c.46); Gierow 1964 fig. 89.5, 89.6; Gierow 1964 fig. 88.9; Ficana t.13.3 (nos 96-99).

5. Lug-handled *impasto* cup (SU 341)

Description: This *impasto* cup, with a single lug handle has a flat base and an inward curving rim. A crimped geometric pattern is present on the handle and a segmented geometric design on shoulder that is composed on groupings of three vertical lines.

Measurements: height 5.2 cm; base diameter 4 cm; rim diameter 13 cm; handle diameter 1 cm.

Comparanda: OdO t. 7.1 (fig. 3a.412); OdO t. 33.5 (fig. 3a.425); t. 414.6.

6. *Impasto* cup (SU 342-c)

Description: This plain *impasto* cup has a dark fabric and a single high, vertical biforal handle. The vessel has a plain rim and a flat base.

Measurements: Height 4.7 cm; height w/ handle 8.7 cm; base diameter 2.4 cm; rim diameter 6.3 cm; handle diameter 0.7 cm.

Comparanda: -

7. Two-handled cuspidate *impasto* vessel (SU 343)

Description: This vessel has a flat base and the lower part of its body is funnel-shaped. An *umbilicus* is present and two vertical band handles extend from the shoulder to rim, each with three pointed projections.

Measurements: Height 8.4 cm; base diameter 4 cm; rim

diameter 12 cm; handle diameter 1.2 cm.

Comparanda: OdO t. 551.6; OdO t. 552.7; OdO t. 558 (M6).1; OdO t. 194.2; OdO t. 228.2.

8. Two-handled carinated basin (SU 344)

Description: This *impasto* basin has a flat base and two handles that originate at the shoulder and flare obliquely outward and upward. The carinated vessel is decorated with a finger-marked, pinched design along the carination. The rim flares outward.

Measurements: Height 7.3 cm; base diameter 6.1 cm; rim diameter 23.2 cm; handle diameter 1.3 cm.

Comparanda: Marina, Riserva del Truglio no 9 (Gierow 1964, 221 no 9); Marino, Prato della Corte no 11 (Gierow 1964, 255 fig. 151); Colle della Noce t. 2 (Ardea 1983 fig. 56).

9. Amphora (SU 345-5)

Description: Two-handled buccheroid *impasto* amphora with two simple band handles extending from shoulder to rim. The surface has been burnished and an impressed arcuated design decorates the body.

Measurements: Height 7.8 cm; base diameter 3.2 cm; rim diameter 5.7 cm; handle width/diameter 0.5 cm.

Comparanda: OdO t. 178.3 (fig. 3c.7).

10. Carinated *impasto* patera (SU 347)

Description: This burnished patera has a burnished body and a rim that flares outward from the carination. The base is flat and the belly has a funnel-shaped profile. The vessel has two parallel holes to facilitate hanging.

Measurements: Height 2.9 cm; base diameter 4.2 cm; rim diameter 11.4 cm.

Comparanda: OdO 434.4 (fig. 3c.19) with a higher foot profile.

11. Lunate bronze *bulla* (SU 349)

Description: This bronze *bulla* was originally placed on the torso of the deceased along with no 12 and nos 14-17 below, and likely was connected to no 13 below. This *bulla* is fashioned from sheet bronze that has been folded over and fastened along the lower edge with wire; circular ringlets at the outer corners allowed for attachment to the chain. The surface of the bronze is, in this case, unadorned.

Measurements: Width approx. 12 cm; height approx. 6 cm.

Comparanda: Palatine Hill, north slope, t. 1, area VII, sector 5 [US 12988] SAR inv. 519120, 519124, 519125. Latial IIIB2 (Tomei 2006, 75); Narce Tomb 23M (UPenn MS 1044; Turfa 2005, 106 no 38); Marino, Riserva del Truglio, t. 29 no 33 (Gierow 1964, 211); Marino, Riserva del Truglio, t. 12 no 10 (Gierow 1964, 167); see also the example from Satricum (Gnade 2007, 107 no 32).

12. Lunate bronze *bulla* with repoussé design (SU 349)

Description: Deposited in a manner overlapping no 11 above, this *bulla* is morphologically similar but has an elaborate surface decoration in the form of a geometric pattern executed in the repoussé technique. This pattern consists of rows of bosses that alternate with tool lines composed of pinpoints.

Measurements: Width approx. 12 cm; height approx. 6 cm.

Comparanda: Narce Tomb 23M (UPenn MS 1044; Turfa 2005, 106 no 38).

13. Bronze link chain for pendants (SU 346)

Description: This bronze chain was originally attached to the pectoral pendant (no 11 above), and perhaps to others of the bronze pieces as well. About 25 links of the chain survive, with another two links still attached to the upper edge of pendant no.

Measurements: Length approx. 15 cm.

Comparanda: Linked chains abound in tombs. See, e.g., Narce Tomb 23M (UPenn MS 1069A; Turfa 2005, 104 no 35).

14. Bronze boss (*borchia*) (SU 349)

Description: A worked, geometric boss made from sheet bronze.

Measurements: Diameter approx. 1.5 cm.

Comparanda: Narce Tomb 43 (late 8th century BC) (UPenn MS 865; Turfa 2005, 116 no 55).

15. Bronze boss (*borchia*) (SU 349)

Description: A worked, geometric boss made from sheet bronze.

Measurements: Diameter approx. 1.5 cm.

Comparanda: -

16. Bronze boss (*borchia*) (SU 349)

Description: A worked, geometric boss made from sheet bronze.

Measurements: Diameter approx. 1.5 cm.

Comparanda: -

17. Bronze boss (*borchia*) (SU 349)

Description: A worked, geometric boss made from sheet bronze.

Measurements: Diameter approx. 1.5 cm.

Comparanda: -

18. Bronze fibula bow (SU 349)

Description: A plain, undecorated bronze fibula. Semi-circular. Pin, loop, and catch-holder are missing.

Measurements: Diameter approx. 5 cm.

Comparanda: -

Tomb 11 assemblage

1. Bead (SU 172)

Description: A small bead, pierced at the center, made from vitreous paste.

Measurements: Height 0.4 cm; width 0.6 cm.

Comparanda: OdO t. 82 (fig. 3c.13).

2. Etrusco-Corinthian bowl (SU 174-6)

Description: This open bowl has a ring foot and a flat base and a flaring rim. The light fabric is decorated by alternating linear bands. The rim has two holes pierced through the thickness in order that the vessel might be hung or suspended from a hook or cord. Wheel-made.

Measurements: Height 4 cm; base diameter 3.5 cm; rim diameter 12.3 cm.

Comparanda: OdO t. 192.1 (fig. 3c.77); OdO t. 54.1 (fig. 3c.78); OdO t. 326.9 (fig. 3b.16); OdO t. 269.2 (Gruppo N, Tomba 269; fig. 3b.34); Crustumerium, località Sasso Bianco, t. 34 (Tomei 2006, 225 II.198); OdO t. 270.3 (fig. 3b.43); OdO t. 274.9 (fig. 3c.84).

3. Piriform aryballos (SU 175-4)

Description: This piriform aryballos was preserved intact. It has a ring foot and a concave base. Its banded, geometric paint scheme extends from foot to shoulder and includes a painted trace on the rim. There is one strap handle extending from the shoulder to the rim.

Measurements: Base diameter 1.7 cm; height 10.3 cm; rim diameter 4 cm; diameter of handle 0.5 cm.

Comparanda: Lucrezia Romana II, 2004 t. 7 (SAR inv. 514495) (Tomei 2006, 371 II.670); Palatine Hill, Aula Regia tomb (Colonna 1978 tav. XVI B); Ficana t. 2.1, t. 2.2 (Brandt 1997, 133 figg. 66, 67).

4. Miniaturistic buccheroid *impasto* olpe (SU 176-3)

Description: This burnished miniaturizing vessel was discovered intact and upright in the northern part of the tomb. The olpe has a ring foot with a flat base, a conical body with a carinated rounded shoulder, conical neck with an out-flaring rim, and a vertical biforal handle extending from the rim to the shoulder.

Measurements: Height 7 cm; height with handle 9.5 cm; base diameter 2.8 cm; rim diameter 5 cm; handle diameter 0.3 cm.

Comparanda: OdO t.163.2 (fig. 3a.42); OdO t. 62 Bachina Nord 8 (Tav. III A 8 p. 201); OdO t. 62 (Tav. LV 24 p. 203); Gierow 1964 (fig. 86.7); Gierow 1964 (53.9); Marino t. 23 Gierow II 112.8; Ficana t. 2.5 (66 67e).

5. *Impasto* cup with single handle (SU 177a-2)

Description: An *impasto* cup with a single, plain handle; the cup has a flat base, high, vertical slides with a rim that flares outward slightly.

Measurements: Height 5.2 cm; height with handle 8.2 cm; base diameter 4.3 cm; rim diameter 7.9 cm; handle diameter 0.8-1.1 cm.

Comparanda: OdO t. 56.4bis (fig. 3c.81); OdO t. 552.8 (fig. 3c.64).

6. Etrusco-Corinthian vessel (SU 177-5)

Description: This is a closed vessel form whose fabric and decoration is quite similar to no 7 below. The vessel has a ring foot and a flat base. Its light fabric is decorated with a linear pattern composed of alternating bands with a wavy band on the shoulder. The neck flares out to join the broad, flat rim that is painted a dark color on its upper surface. Wheel-made.

Measurements: Height 9.7 cm; base diameter 4.1 cm; rim diameter 9 cm.

Comparanda: Decorative scheme comparable with numerous Etrusco-Corinthian vessels, e.g. vessels from Lucrezia Romana II, 200, Tomb 7 (Tomei 2006, 371).

7. Etrusco-Corinthian *olla* (SU 177-1)

Description: This is a closed vessel form with a ring foot and flat base. The belly flares outward and tapers toward the neck and the broad, flat rim. The light fabric of the vessel carries a painted design that has been applied rather unevenly, but consists of alternating linear bands with a wavy band on the shoulder. Wheel-made.

Measurements: height 7 cm; base diameter 3.4 cm; foot height 3.2 cm; rim diameter 6.3 cm.

Comparanda: Decorative scheme comparable with numerous Etrusco-Corinthian vessels, e.g. vessels from Lucrezia

Romana II, 200, Tomb 7 (Tomei 2006, 371). cf. Marino, Riserva del Truglio, t. 23 no 2 (Gierow 1964, 189) and Marino, Riserva del Truglio, t. 21 nos 5, 7 (Gierow 1964, 186).

8. *Impasto* askos (SU 177-1)

Description: This vessel was among those placed in the tomb's loculus. This *impasto* askos has a flat base and a flaring mouth, with a single lug handle. The decorative scheme stands out in this assemblage, as a series of three stamped impressions decorate each shoulder. The vessel has been burnished.

Measurements: Height 8.6 cm; base diameter 4 cm; rim diameter 3.2 cm.

Comparanda: Pascolano tomb 1, no 8 (Gierow 1964 fig. 134); Mario, Vigna Delsette (Gierow 1964 fig. 157); Marino, San Rocco, Capo d'Acqua (Latial II) (Gierow 1964 fig. 164); Rocca di Papa, San Lorenzo Vecchio, tomb O, no 8 (Gierow 1964 fig. 169); Castel Gandolfo, San Sebastiano - mixed find groups of Latial II period (Gierow 1964 fig. 181 no 34); Castel Gandolfo (Gierow 1964 fig. 194, no 23; fig. 203, no 51 and 52; fig. 206, no 26).

NOTES

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¹ Becker/Mogetta/Terrenato 2009, 629-642.

² Guaitoli 1981.

³ A. Nava 2009. Internal report, Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici di Roma.

⁴ Similar to OdO t. 362.

⁵ Horwitz/Smith 1988, 471-481; Dominguez-Rodrigo/Piqueras 2003, 1385-1391.

⁶ Eos Systems Inc. 1992-2009 PhotoModeler Scanner.

⁷ See Rabinowitz et al. 2008 for where this particular method of photogrammetry was derived as well as a more detailed description of the procedure.

⁸ For both of these end products, however, the same method is used in the field. The only difference is the amount of processing time needed for each product.

⁹ The phenomenon of sub-adult burials also holds particular relevance for Italo-Roman ritual connected with the stages of maturity, as reviewed and discussed in Dasen 2009. In Latin contexts we should be careful to differentiate between the burials of infants and children. For the people of ancient Italy, the *infans* was a not-yet-speaking individual.

¹⁰ Hopkins 1983, 255 estimates that 28% of Roman babies who were born alive died by their first birthday. Also, Dasen 2009, 210-11.

¹¹ De Santis et al. 2007-2008 provides an up-to-date summary and statistical discussion.

¹² Gjerstad 1956: Tomba H (88), Tomba EE (102-103), Tomba MM (110-111), Tomba FF (144-145), Tomba D (117-120), Tomba G (120-124).

¹³ Ampolo 1978, 122-125.

¹⁴ Brandt 1997; Fischer-Hansen 1997.

¹⁵ Bartoloni 2003.

¹⁶ Plin. HN 7.15. Fulgentius *Expositio sermonum antiquorum* 7 also remarks on these *subgrundaria* as the place of burial for children less than 40 days old ('*quid sint subgrundaria*').

¹⁷ Plin. HN 7.72. '*Hominem prius quam genito dente cremari mos gentium non est.*'

¹⁸ Plut. *Moralia* 113D; other authors represent slightly divergent viewpoints, viz. Horace *Epistles* 1.7.2ff.

¹⁹ Plutarch Numa 12.2.

²⁰ See Bietti Sestieri 1992: OdO t. 559 and t. 586. T. 541 shows miniaturizing vessels.

²¹ See OdO t. 122 and t. 109.

²² Castagnoli 1972.

²³ Waarsenburg 1995.

²⁴ A.M. Bietti Sestieri. Personal communication. December 2009.

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The Development and Architectural Significance of Early Etrusco-Italic Podia

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Abstract

*The incorporation of podia into Etruscan and Latial religious buildings during the 6th century BC marks the emergence of temples as a distinct architectural form in both the urban landscape and the archaeological record. Consideration of the significance of this change in elevation, however, has largely been overlooked to date in preference for the presentation of podia as a Roman form derived from Etruscan sacred aesthetics. This review of the evidence for the chronological and geographical development of podia in central Italy will suggest a means of differentiating podia from other substructures, demonstrate that they can be recognised in Latium before Etruria, and argue that their introduction may represent an architectural response to particular local conditions.**

INTRODUCTION

Scholarship on Roman temple architecture has traditionally focused on the form and function of building superstructures, with typologies based upon differences in roof design and the arrangement of columns and internal walls. Consideration of substructures, in contrast, seldom extends beyond a customary reference to Etruscan predecessors. The importance of raised substructures as a defining feature of Roman temples arguably justifies closer analysis of their qualities and development. This article aims to stimulate such research by proposing a new definition of podia and reviewing the evidence for their early use in western central Italy. The results suggest that the Etruscan origins of podia have been overstated and that their incorporation into temples during the 6th century BC signals a fundamental change in the conception of religious architecture.

TERMINOLOGY

There is no agreed definition of podia as an architectural element. In archaeology the term has come to signify either the low wall surrounding the arena within an amphitheatre upon which seats were placed (following the usage in Latin literature e.g. Juv. *Sat.* 2.147: *omnibus ad podium spectantibus*), or else a relatively solid masonry foundation upon which a temple was erected. In general literature it has become a form of shorthand for any raised platform, large or small, intended to support one or more items. As scholarly confusion with terms such as platform, terrace, and the Greek terms *krepidoma* and *stereobate* has

compromised the identification and analysis of podia, it is useful to begin with a working definition based on function and aesthetic effect.

I propose that podia are a distinctive type of raised substructure which must be negotiated to enter a surmounting building or superstructure. Specifically, the superstructure must occupy all, or very nearly all, the horizontal surface of the substructure. A large discrepancy between the size of the superstructure and the substructure, or else the complete absence of a superstructure, means that the substructure serves as a platform, rather than a podium. Similarly, substructures erected on sloping land to construct flat bases for one or more smaller superstructures may be regarded as terraces, rather than podia. Such a definition simultaneously looks downwards, to a clear demarcation from the ground around the full extent of the substructure, and upwards, to the walls and columns of a contiguous building.¹ The elevation of a true podium building is thus clearly distinguished from that on a platform or terrace, and requires the viewer to interpret the substructure and superstructure as a unified piece of architecture, rather than two separate construction projects where the substructure plays a secondary role.

A definition that focuses on the relationship between substructure and superstructure rather than decoration also recognises the nature of the relevant archaeological evidence. At many central Italic sites the state of preservation of the substructures is variable: some are essentially complete with finds that indicate their use, while others are represented by a few original courses and sections of fill incorporated into successive remodel-

Table 1. Central Italic podium temples dated prior to c.450 BC (by geographical region).

No.	Site	Date	Remains	Dimensions	Orientation
Latium					
1	Rome, Forum Boarium, S. Omobono (possibly a Temple of Fortuna), Phase 1 ²	c. 575 BC	Seven courses of ashlar masonry, the second with a torus moulding	10.3 m square; 1.7 m high, with a staircase of possibly seven steps at the front	SW
2	Satricum, Acropolis, Temple I ³	c. 540 BC	Four courses of ashlar blocks with a torus crowning moulding	27.43 x 17.1 m (but only 16.5 m at rear)	SW
3	Ardea, Acropolis, Temple of Juno Regina ⁴	c. 540 BC	Only one course extant	Original size hypothesized at 39.5 x 25.3 m	SW
4	Rome, Forum Boarium, S. Omobono (possibly a Temple of Fortuna), Phase 2 ⁵	c. 535 BC	Three courses of tufa, with a double moulding on three sides	13.2 x 11.54 m, 1.61 m high. Wide staircase with four steps	SW
5	Ardea, Forum, the Casarinaccio temple ⁶	Late 6 th century	Three courses of tufa with different profiles of the upper round in different parts of the podium	Perhaps 35 x 23.35 m; preserved height is 1.82 m	SW
6	Rome, Capitoline, Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus ⁷	c. 510 BC (dedicated 509)	Podium built of blocks of <i>cappellaccio</i> . 14 courses preserved in the SE corner, but two are thought to be later additions	Measurements vary, between 60-62.16 m long x 51-53.50 m wide. An original height of c. 3.60-3.75 m is proposed	SE
7	Rome, Palatine, Building N ⁸	c. 525-475 BC	Four courses of <i>cappellaccio</i> .	10.5 m long	NW-SE
8	Rome, Forum Romanum, Temple of Saturn ⁹	c. 500 BC (dedicated 498)	Two parallel podium walls in <i>cappellaccio</i> are buried in the present podium		N
9	Satricum, Acropolis, Temple II ¹⁰	c. 500-480 BC	Four courses of tufa <i>lionato</i>	33.9 x 21 m	NE-SW
10	Signia, Acropolis, Temple of Juno Moneta ¹¹	c. 490 BC	Built in <i>opus siliceum</i> of local limestone	40.8 x 25.3 m	S
11	Rome, Forum Romanum, Temple of Castor ¹²	c. 490 BC (dedicated 484)	Constructed in <i>cappellaccio</i>	Archaic podium measures 27.5 x 37.4 m; 3.5 m high	NE
12	Norba, Minor Acropolis, 'major temple' ¹³	'Late Archaic'	Polygonal masonry; base of wall dividing cella from <i>pronaos</i> is preserved	22.8 x 12.90 m	NW-SE
13	Norba, Minor Acropolis, 'minor temple'	Early 5 th century		16.5 x 8.16 m	SW
Etruria					
14	Pyrgi, Temple B ¹⁴	c. 510-500 BC	Tufa podium in <i>opus quadratum</i> . Four courses largely preserved	29.65 x 20.1 m	SW
15	Veii, Portonaccio Temple ¹⁵	c. 510-500 BC	Tufa blocks. North wall preserved	18.5 m square	E
16	Vulci, Forum ¹⁶	c. 510-500 BC	Five courses of ashlar tufa blocks, lined along the perimeter with <i>nenfro</i> during the 4 th century	42.6 x 28 m; 2.4 m high	SW
17	Orvieto, Belvedere Temple ¹⁷	Early 5 th century	<i>Opus quadratum</i> of tufa	21.91 x 16.9 m (but only 16.30 m at front)	SE

Table 1 Continued.

No.	Site	Date	Remains	Dimensions	Orientation
18	Marzabotto, Acropolis, Temple C ¹⁸	c. 500-475 BC	Round river stones faced with travertine	18.2 x 21.4 m; reconstructed height of 1.55-1.83 m	S
19	Vulci, Fontanile di Legnisina ¹⁹	Early 5 th century	Large ashlar tufa blocks. Three courses preserved on the south side to a height of 1 m; two courses preserved on the north side	c. 17.6 x 25 m	SW
20	Marzabotto, urban area, Temple of Tinia ²⁰	480-470 BC	Scanty remains, one course	Building: 35.5 x 21.75 m	N-S
21	Pyrgi, Temple A ²¹	c. 455 BC	<i>Opus quadratum</i> with eight courses preserved	34.33 x 23.98 m	SW

elling projects. The essential difference with the bases of earlier *oikoi* or *sacella* is however clear. Column bases no longer sat directly on the ground, and those wishing to enter the building required stairs. A survey of early podia in Latium and Etruria with sufficient evidence to enable reconstructions indicates that podia varied in dimension, shape, orientation, and decorative detail following no discernable chronological or geographical pattern (table 1). Excavators have proposed designs ranging from a Greek-style *krepidoma* with steps on all four sides, for example at Temple B at Pyrgi, to lateral stairs around a tribunal, as found on the Temple of Castor at Rome, as well as the more common flight of stairs between two masses of masonry centrally arranged on one side. There is sufficient evidence to establish that some podia carried ornamental mouldings. Moulded blocks of *nenfro* found at Orvieto are thought to have decorated the podium of the Belvedere Temple, where the pale colour would have stood in decorative contrast to the darker tuff facing the rest of the temple,²² and mouldings on the two phases of the podium at S. Omobono show increasing complexity over time.²³ The majority, however, are likely to have been relatively plain.

The proposed criteria also clarify the architectural and aesthetic differences between buildings often described as podium structures. Temples I and II at the Ara della Regina site in Tarquinia were not podium temples, as the artificial terrace (55 x 31.5 m) built for Temple I extended far beyond the walls of the superstructure (27 x 12.2 m), and the enlargement resulting in Temple II (44 x 24.8 m) on the same terrace should again be understood as compensation for the terrain rather than an attempt to produce a structure with a unified elevation.²⁴ The edifice (4.8 x 9.6 m) beneath the *sacellum* (3.6 x 6.2 m) in the Celle sanctuary at Civita Castellana was a platform rather than a podium.²⁵ Structures

B and D on the acropolis at Marzabotto, carrying mouldings and frontal staircases typical of podia, did not carry superstructures and consequently can be regarded as platforms rather than strict podia.²⁶ The earliest securely identified podium in central Italy is found at the S. Omobono sanctuary in the Roman Forum Boarium, and it is this temple, dated to ca 575 BC on the basis of finds including Attic, Laconian, and Ionian cups, votive material, and architectural terracottas,²⁷ that marks the advent of the distinctive form of religious architecture known as the Etrusco-Italic temple.

This definition consequently acknowledges the significance of podia for histories of ancient Italic architecture. The similarities between the Regia at Rome, first monumentalised in stone in ca 625 BC, and houses such as that along the Via Sacra or in Zone 5A at Fidenae,²⁸ or between the courtyard complexes at Narce and Acquarossa,²⁹ suggest that there were no appreciable differences in ground plan or superstructure to distinguish sacred from profane spaces in 7th-century Latium or early 6th-century Etruria.³⁰ Material continuity between spaces with religious and residential functions is also expressed in debates over means of differentiating religious from other *oikoi* or mono-nuclear buildings, and the inherent architectural ambiguity of the period is further illustrated by the problematic interpretation of 7th-century votive models as representations of the houses of the living, the dead, and the divine.³¹ The absence of distinctive architectural or artistic markers to indicate building function requires buildings associated with religious activities to be identified on the basis of artefact evidence which itself may take ambiguous forms. Careful evaluation of votives and faunal assemblages in the light of finds from comparable contexts produces a short list of structures that can be regarded, within the limits of problematic terminology, as shrines.

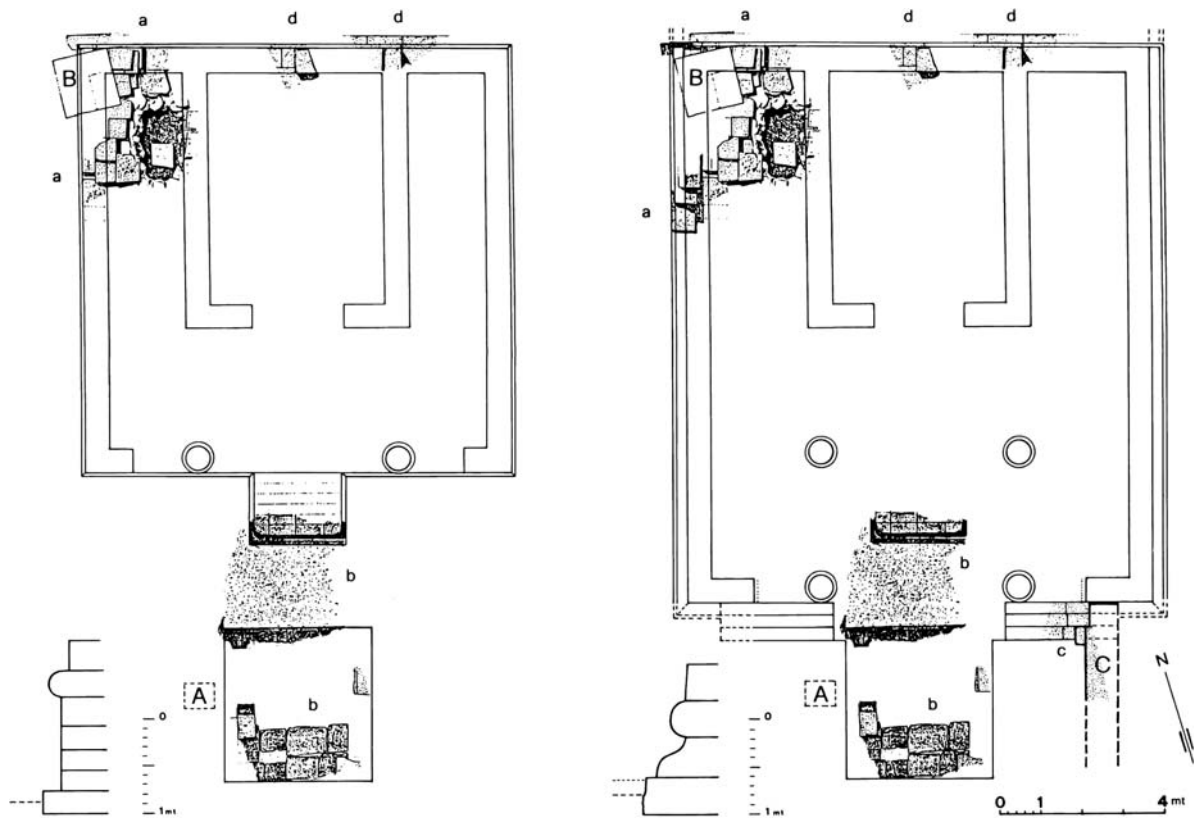


Fig. 1. Rome, S. Omobono complex.
Plan of the first and second phases of the Archaic temple, with podium elevations (Colonna 1991, fig. 2a-b).

The introduction of podia is arguably the factor that transformed such shrines into temples. Although there is no typological rule against using the two terms interchangeably, each may carry connotations of size, contents, and worshippers, producing a conceptual uneasiness with describing a room within a primarily residential complex as a 'temple,' or using the word 'shrine' to describe a monumental building atop a flight of steps. The presence of a podium moves architectural histories out of functional ambiguity into structures characterised by a strong, easily recognisable marker. For all that architectural typologies often prefer to identify temples on the basis of their superstructures, the customary list of temple features including frontal orientation, a columned entranceway, a tripartite division of interior space, roof-top statuary, and architectural terracottas, becomes redundant upon comparison with the buildings of 7th-century Latium and Etruria, where they are common.³² A podium may not become an intrinsic feature of a religious *aedes*, but it is the distinctive one.³³

EVIDENCE

Table 1 lists the known examples of podia in western central Italy that can be dated prior to ca 450 BC and accord with the definition used in this paper.³⁴ The twenty-one examples come from thirteen sites in Latium and eight sites in Etruria; two represent second construction phases at sites with an earlier podium. Their dates are derived from associated archaeological evidence such as site stratigraphy, pottery, and mouldings that enable dating on stylistic grounds, as well as architectural terracottas when it is possible to establish a connection with a contemporary superstructure through evidence of walls or columns. Coins can also be useful for correlating dates and reconstructions, and in some cases it is possible to find foundation or dedication dates preserved in literary records.

The division of the twenty-one examples into Latial and Etruscan groups reflects growing scholarly challenges to the interpretation of all Latial material predating the foundation of the Roman

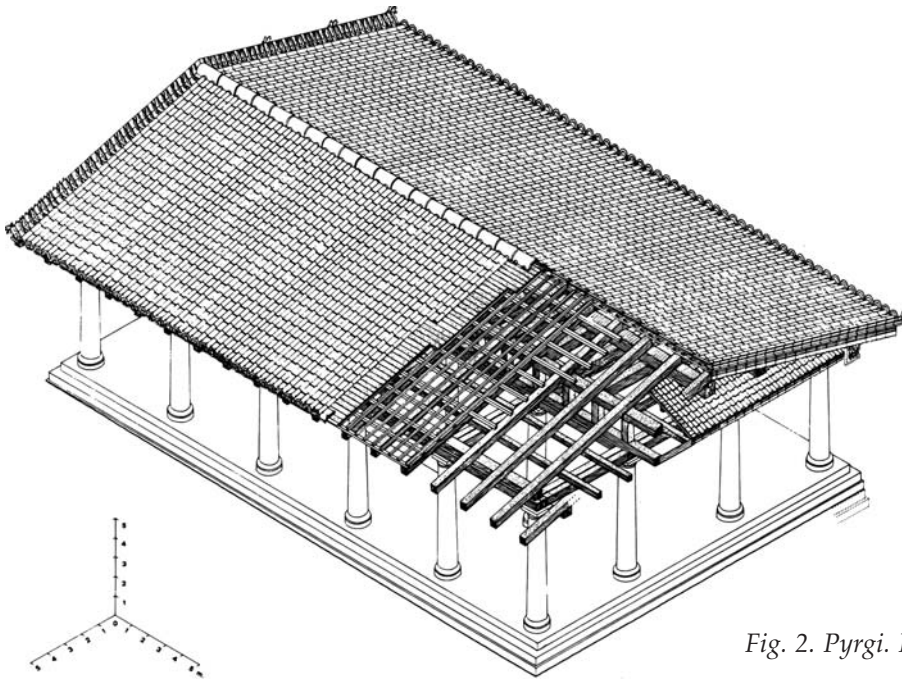


Fig. 2. Pyrgi. Reconstruction of Temple B
(Melis 1985, fig. 7.1.B).

Republic as Etruscan exempla. The extent of Etruscan power in Archaic Rome is now debated; Etruscan presence does not denote Etruscan dominance, and factors such as the Etruscan ethnicity of certain rulers, attested by the literary tradition, may have been incidental in a city that was open to external elements but cultivated an independent identity.³⁵ Recognising that the archaeological record does not reveal agency allows for the analysis of regional developments within a larger architectural and artistic *koine* and a more geographically accurate description of significant phenomena. Topographical patterns can then be interpreted as expressions of particular agents and their concerns in ways that account for all aspects of the physical data.

Organising the evidence for early podia in Etruria and Latium by chronology and geography highlights hitherto overlooked regional contrasts. As mentioned above, the earliest securely identified podium in western central Italy is located in the Roman Forum Boarium. Fragmentary remains suggest that a 1.7 m-high podium crowned with a half-round moulding was constructed in ca 575 BC. A second phase saw the podium rebuilt and decorated with a double moulding on three sides in ca 535 BC (fig. 1). The second and third chronological examples also come from Latium. In the middle of the 6th century a podium measuring 27.43 x 17.1 m was built to support the so-called Temple 1 at Satricum.³⁶ Together with the new

superstructure of one rectangular room and an anteroom surrounded on three sides by columns, the use of a podium on the site of the former *oikos* marked the accession of a distinctive form of religious architecture. One course of tufa blocks suggests that the Temple of Juno Regina on the acropolis at Ardea also received a podium that can be dated by architectural terracottas to ca 540 BC.³⁷ The reconstructed substructure was larger than those at Rome and Satricum, with dimensions of 39.5 x 25.5 m, and it is tempting to speculate that the increase signals a growing technical confidence on the part of the architect or builders.

By contrast, the earliest securely identified podia in Etruria are dated to the end of the 6th century. A low podium was constructed beneath Building A at Portonaccio in Veii in ca 510-500 BC. The substructure of Temple B at Pyrgi, also dated to ca 510-500 BC, has been reconstructed to resemble a Greek *krepidoma* measuring 20.10 x 29.65 m (fig. 2).³⁸ The spoliation of tufa blocks at the site may have caused an artificially low reconstruction of the substructure,³⁹ but there is sufficient evidence that the *krepidoma* elevated the ground floor of the superstructure with respect to its surroundings for it to be considered an example of a building in Etruria displaying the architectural characteristics of a podium.

The introduction of podia in Etruria proper coincides with comparable developments in other forms of Etruscan religious architecture. Structure

B at Marzabotto, variously dated between 520 and 500 BC, is an artificial platform measuring 4.10 x 4.10 m with a staircase in the centre of the southern side and no surmounting superstructure (*fig. 3*). The discovery of a pozzo in its centre holding animal bones, as well as a raised basin on the adjacent ground, suggest that the platform was a space for ritual activity.⁴⁰ The shape and decoration further allow for the possibility that this type of structure served as a formal or conceptual prototype for podia in subsequent Etruscan temples. But regardless of whether the earliest examples of Etruscan podia are the temples at Veii and Pyrgi or the raised platform at Marzabotto, as some who prefer a looser definition of the feature may argue, the available evidence indicates that podia appear in Latium approximately 50 years before they are recognisable in Etruria.⁴¹

FORM AND FUNCTION

Podia are traditionally presented as an Etruscan architectural form that became part of the canonical Etrusco-Italic temple.⁴² Those who hold that Latium, and particularly Rome, were subject to Etruscan rule during the Archaic period will find no threat to this concept in the fact that podia in Latium appear to predate those in Etruria. The challenge posed by English scholarship to consider Latial developments as independent phenomena, however, cannot be overlooked. It is thus appropriate to review current hypotheses about the origins of these substructures in an attempt to clarify whether podia were Etruscan features and, if so, why they were first realised in Latium.

Funerary tumuli

One group of scholars has suggested that podia were derived from Etruscan funerary tumuli. From the first half of the 7th century Etruscan aristocrats built conspicuous tumuli, or burial mounds, to commemorate deceased family members and visually emphasise their dominance over the land and community. Tumulus I and II in the Banditaccia necropolis at Cerveteri illustrate the placement of the burial mounds atop carved tufa bases with cylindrical cornices. Each of these tumuli, with respective diameters of 31 m and 40 m, was surrounded by a narrow ditch that could be crossed using a fixed ramp with stairs, a structure described in many publications as a podium (*fig. 4*).⁴³ Such 'podia' were joined to the base of the mound by small arches, tunnels, or blind doors that spanned the ditch and emphasised the demarcation of the

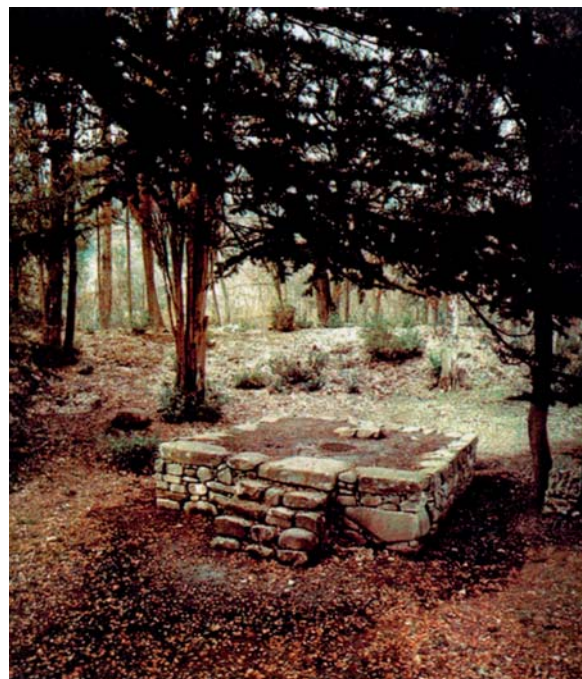


Fig. 3. Marzabotto, Acropolis. Structure B (Govi 2007, p.21).



Fig. 4. Cerveteri, Banditaccia necropolis. Tumulus (photo author).

tumulus from the surrounding space.⁴⁴ A resemblance to the podia of later Etrusco-Italic temples can be discerned in the monumental bases accessed by single flights of stairs, while a conceptual link between tumuli and podium temples may also have existed in the use of the stairs to access a raised area for religious purposes, as finds from the top of tumuli indicate the performance of rites above the burial chambers.⁴⁵

Monumental altars

A second hypothesis interprets podia as monumental altars. This idea draws on the resemblance between podia and the mouldings of carved tumuli bases, rather than the stairs used to link those bases to non-funerary ground, and also on similarities between podia and platforms such as Structure D at Marzabotto. Both the tumuli bases and the platforms were decorated with mouldings, raised from the surrounding ground, and accessed by single flights of stairs. The concept of the Etruscan tomb as altar further links the tumuli to the platforms.⁴⁶ As a result of these similarities, some scholars have argued that podia came into being to differentiate religious buildings from their profane surroundings by serving as monumental markers of the boundary between sacred and quotidian space.⁴⁷ Podia with mouldings thus resembled elaborate pedestals that raised temples out of the profane world, just as carved bases isolated tumuli. This argument does not account for the construction of podia within religious precincts unless sanctuary boundaries were insignificant, insufficient, or absent.

Augury

A third hypothesis proposes an alternative derivation from the ritual demarcation of the earth by augurs to establish a space freed from spirits and thus suitable for consecration to the deity of the future building.⁴⁸ As this demarcation is usually envisaged as a series of straight lines, the augural markings are thought to have established the shape and orientation of a square or rectangular podium. Round podia presumably validate the existence of non-linear augural lines associated with the setting of city boundaries like the *pomerium*. It is also thought that high viewpoints may have facilitated the taking of *auspicia*. Augury and podium temples must consequently be regarded as synchronous developments. Relevant to this discussion is the proposal that augury and the auspices may have been of Latin or Sabine, rather than Etruscan, origin.⁴⁹

All three of these hypotheses can be challenged by the observation that different forms of non-funerary religious architecture existed in Etruria and Latium well before the advent of podium temples. Evidence of religious activity at Building *beta* on the Pian di Civita at Tarquinia, near the *Casa del recinto* at Roselle, in the so-called spring sanctuary and the rectangular building near the

Pietrisco River at San Giovenale, and at Temple 0 at Satricum establishes that communities possessed alternative spaces for religious rites in which podia played no part. These shrines resembled the superstructures of Etrusco-Italic podium temples more closely than piles of tumuli earth and arguably fulfilled a closer ritual function than spaces for the performance of open-air rites; and for all that podia may have resembled monumental altars, Etrusco-Italic temples were not altars; the altar was a separate structure, frequently placed at a different orientation to the temple, and accessible to the view of all in contrast to enclosed temple interiors. The fundamental question about podia is hence not whence podia derive their decoration, but why the need to introduce such substructures to religious architecture was felt in the 6th, but not 7th, century BC.

BEYOND RITUAL

The existence of non-funerary religious structures predating the construction of podium temples shows that podia were not the sole means of conferring religiosity upon a building. Thus while similar designs may have had a ritual significance elsewhere, there is no imperative to seek a ritual origin for the form or function of podia. Indeed, given the evidence that embellishments such as mouldings and the motifs typical of architectural terracottas were used widely in Etruscan culture irrespective of building or spatial function before the late 6th century,⁵⁰ it is possible that the use of similar mouldings on tumuli bases, platforms, and later podia was merely fashionable. Additional support for the idea that temple substructures may not have had an exclusively religious function comes from Roman evidence that podia gradually came to serve a variety of civic and commercial functions. The substructure of the Temple of Castor was rebuilt and repurposed through the late Republic, with a tribunal added to the frontal stairs in the 2nd century BC and the incorporation of twenty-five small chambers. These spaces may have been used in association with the Temple's imperial role as the official repository for weights and measures, although finds of assorted make-up and extracted teeth in a secondary drain from a chamber on the west side of the Temple suggest that this particular room was later occupied by a beautician-cum-dentist.⁵¹ The podium of the 3rd-century BC northern temple at S. Nicola in Carcere was likewise designed with a series of small chambers; the limited height of 1.5 m means they may have been used to store equipment related

to the nearby vegetable market.⁵² The central temple of the same complex also had rooms in the podium that are likely to have sheltered *tabernae*.⁵³ Lastly, a vaulted chamber measuring 10 m x 3 m uncovered beneath the stairs of the Temple of Saturn has been identified as the Aerarium, or public treasury, based upon literary descriptions of the Temple's banking activities (Paul. *ex Fest.* 2L; Solin. 1.12; Macrob. *Sat.* 1.8.3).⁵⁴ Such designs and finds show that podia either did not retain, or even have, a rarefied religious purpose. Together these points reinforce that form should be considered separately from function and considerations of the rationale for temple substructures may go beyond ritual demands.

The context for the construction of Rome's first podium temple accordingly requires analysis. The deity honoured with the construction of the Archaic temple is thought to have been Mater Matuta, based upon later literary references to the foundation of such a temple in the area by Servius Tullius, king of Rome from 578 to 534 BC (Liv. 5.19.6, 33.27.4; Ov. *Fast.* 6. 477-480, 569-572, 613-626).⁵⁵ An absence of extant references to the podium or the rationale for its construction means that external and internal catalysts must both be considered.

Greek inspiration

The Greek equivalent of central Italic podia was the *krepidoma* or stereobate. Both archaeology and the Greek tradition trace the earliest expression of many Greek monumental forms to Corinth and its hinterland. It is difficult to identify the earliest example of a Greek *krepidoma*, but it is possible that it first found expression in stone in Corinth, where other innovations such as tiled roofs and the regular frieze of the Doric order also emerged. If the *krepidoma* developed as part of the emergence and codification of early Greek, typically Doric, temple architecture, then the form may be dated to the late 7th or early 6th century BC.⁵⁶

The fact that significant developments in religious architecture may have occurred in Corinth and Rome at approximately the same time might suggest the expediting of Greek influence in Latium or, more likely, a simultaneous elaboration of construction methods and religious aesthetics in Greece and western central Italy. Other links between Servius Tullius, the Forum Boarium, and Corinth can be noted. Scholars have argued that Servius adopted pro-mercantile policies similar to those of contemporary Greek tyrants, including the development of the Forum Boarium as a Tiber

port and its attendant cults of Mater Matuta and Portunus, two deities connected with trade and Corinth by their assimilation to Ino-Leukothea and Palaimon.⁵⁷ The terracotta plaques decorating the pediment of the first-phase Temple depicted a winged Gorgon flanked by crouching felines, similar to the motif displayed on the front of the Temple of Artemis on Corcyra, erected in a Corinthian colony located on commercial trade routes.⁵⁸ Even if the Greek *krepidoma* or peristyle were inspirational, however, it is important to note that the single flight of stairs and the mouldings of the substructure in the Forum Boarium cannot be described as Greek forms.

Near Eastern stimuli

The extent of Near Eastern influence on Greek and Roman architecture in this period is difficult to determine. It is possible that particular methods of stone-working were copied from, or inspired by, Phoenician and Egyptian practices.⁵⁹ Remains of the White Temple at Uruk demonstrate that Sumerian mud-brick temples were being erected on raised platforms by the 4th millennium BC. By the 3rd millennium such platforms had developed into the series of stepped terraces known as ziggurats.⁶⁰ Although the terraced design differed sharply from Italic podia, there may have been a conceptual resemblance in regarding the temple upon the platform as the home of a god that could only be entered by religious professionals. The theological and practical significance of ziggurat design has been long debated, generating a long list of not incompatible hypotheses: suggestions include a desire to invoke the mountains associated with Sumerian migrations; the imitation of an elaborate altar; the provision of a raised point for celestial observations (Diod. Sic. 2.9.4), or for gods during their descents from the heavens (Hdt. 1.182); and, more prosaically, a means of protecting shrines from frequent flooding.⁶¹ By the time that trade routes between the Near East, Aegean and Mediterranean become visible in the archaeological record, ziggurats had evolved into steeply-terraced pyramids with no visual resemblance to Italic podia.

The absence of a clear external prototype in Greece or the Near East allows podia to be interpreted as independent Italic designs. Local factors may in turn explain their introduction in Rome.

Socio-political imperatives

The competitive nature of those living in Archaic

Rome, particularly with regards to surpassing other communities' building projects, should not be underestimated. For example, it is possible that the Tarquin dynasty adorned Rome with structures that were designed to eclipse comparable buildings in Tarquinia with an impression of majestic grandeur.⁶² The first podium temple may have monumentalised Roman identity and stimulated imitation by other settlements. This scenario does not deny Etruscan agency, but offers an explanation for why this architectural development began south rather than north of the Tiber.

Topography

The Forum Boarium was a riverside centre of international and interregional commerce. As Tiber Island divided its namesake into two bridgeable channels, the shallower water and adjacent lowland to the east formed a natural landing point for ships pausing at Rome and Veii or travelling upriver to Antemnae, Fidenae, and Crustumerium. Such favourable topography was further improved by proximity to major roads: here ended the Via Salaria, bringing salt and transhumant herds to local exchanges, while one of the principal roads between Etruria and Campania passed close by and may have motivated the construction of Rome's first bridge, the Pons Sublicius.⁶³ International imports are evident from the 8th century onwards in sherds of late Geometric, Euboean, Cycladic, and Corinthian ceramics, as well as Ischian and Cumaeian imitations of Corinthian styles.⁶⁴ The construction of a podium temple, orientated towards river-borne travellers, may have been designed to attract and welcome potentially lucrative visitors in an emphatic, impressive, and ritualised style. The use of a significant substructure to increase visibility and lower the chance of flood damage to the wooden columns of the superstructure would thus have had multiple benefits.

The limitations of the archaeological evidence mean that these scenarios can only be speculative. The suggestion that the first podium temple represents a response to local Roman concerns, however, reflects the corpus of relevant evidence more accurately than the conflation of Etruscan mouldings with Etruscan cultural and architectural supremacy.

CONCLUSION

Although podia are but one element of many grand and imposing buildings, the study of their development arguably has the larger effect of

redefining the significance of the 6th century BC for histories of central Italic religious architecture. The evidence for buildings with associated ritual activities in the 7th century, characterised by a variety of plans and lack of architectural markers to identify their primary function, establishes that the importance of the 6th century lies in the emergence of a recognisable religious architectural form, due principally to the introduction of podia. The common attribution of this change to the Etruscans is simplistic and does not accord with the location of the archaeological evidence or the growing scholarly recognition of the differences between Latial and Etruscan civilizations. The alternative proposal that podia were a Latial, or even Roman, phenomenon suggests that the conception and realisation of cult buildings in early Italy may represent more innovative responses to local, and perhaps prosaic, concerns than previously thought.

NOTES

* I would like to thank Janet DeLaine, Sibylle Haynes, and the BABESCH editorial committee for reading earlier drafts of this article and making many helpful suggestions. Any errors of fact and judgement remain mine alone.

- 1 Cf. Vitruvius *De arch.* 5.6.6 defining podia in *scaena* in relation to surmounting columns.
- 2 See n. 27 and Cifani 2008, 165-173 with bibliography.
- 3 *Satricum* 1986, 60-62; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1991, 91; Knoop/Lulof 2009, 32-35.
- 4 Stefani 1944-1945; Nielsen 1992, 124; Damgaard Andersen 1998, vol. iv, 147-148.
- 5 Gjerstad 1962; Ippolito 1989; Pisani Sartorio 1990, 113; Colonna 1991.
- 6 Nielsen 1992, 124; Shoe 1965, 84-86.
- 7 Nielsen 1992, 118-9; Cifani 2008, 85-109 with bibliography.
- 8 Pensabene 1993, 24, 36-38; 1995, 457; Damgaard Andersen 1998, vol. iv, 176.
- 9 Nielsen 1992, 119.
- 10 Colonna 1984, 404; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1991, 105; Knoop/Lulof 2009, 35-36.
- 11 Coarelli 1982, 177-178 with 396 for bibliography; Nielsen 1992, 127.
- 12 Nielsen 1992, 61-79, esp. p.75; Damgaard Andersen 1998, vol. iv, 181.
- 13 The two podia at Norba are not well published; their inclusion in this table is based upon material displayed in the Museo Archeologico in Norma.
- 14 Colonna 1972, esp. p. 282; Melis 1985; Nielsen 1992, 132.
- 15 Colonna 1985, 101; Nielsen 1992, 132.
- 16 Sgubini Moretti 1993, 72; Moretti Sgubini 1997, 154.
- 17 Andr n 1940, 166-186; Colonna 1985, 80-83; Nielsen 1992, 131.
- 18 Nielsen 1992, 131; Bentz/Reusser 2008, 60.
- 19 Massab  1985, 17-20; 1988-1989; Sgubini Moretti 1993, 108-110.
- 20 Govi 2007, 23-25; Bentz/Reusser 2008, 54-56.
- 21 Colonna 1972, 23-47.
- 22 Izzet 2000, 42-43.

- 23 Colonna 1991, 57.
- 24 Bonghi Jovino 2010, 175-176.
- 25 Comella 1986, 177-181, 223-224 with bibliography.
- 26 Structures B and D have been variously presented as monumental altars, precincts, elevated *temene*, and *sacella*: Steingraber 1982, 107-108; *ThesCRA* iv: 312, s.v. 'Sacellum (Etruria e mondo Italico): Etruria' (A. Comella); Jannot 2005, 73; Colonna 2006, 140-141; Govi 2007, 21-22.
- 27 Gjerstad 1962; Ioppolo 1989; Colonna 1991; Mura Somella 2000, 7-20 in particular regarding the dating of the ceramics.
- 28 The house on the Sacra Via: Cifani 2008, 124-125 with bibliography. Edifice 5A at Fidenae: Rathje 1983 and Pavolini et al. 1990, 109.
- 29 For evidence of religious activities at Narce see Damgaard Andersen 1998, vol. iv, 69-71. The bibliography on Acquarossa is extensive; for summaries see Östenberg 1975; Rystedt 1985; Haynes 2000, 139-140.
- 30 The presence of architectural terracottas on buildings with residential, funerary, civic, and religious functions is now widely recognised; see Damgaard Andersen 1993 and Winter 2009, 567-570.
- 31 Staccioli 1968, 67-68 interprets the models as *thesauroi*; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1995, 130 summarises the contrasting interpretations of the model from Satricum; Damgaard Andersen 1993, 75 prefers to interpret the models as private houses.
- 32 As Damgaard Andersen 1998, vol. i, 166 notes, the characteristics of a temple have not been well-defined. Colonna 1985, 60 is the most often cited, although his insistence on a square or quasi-square plan makes no allowance for round temples. Examples of structures with these characteristics include: Hut A on the southwest corner of the Palatine in Rome (two holes outside the entrance suggesting a covered porch on wooden posts); the *oikos* building at Pizza d'Armi in Veii (frontal orientation); Buildings A-C in Zone F at Acquarossa (tripartite division of interior space); and the courtyard complex at Poggio Civitate (Murlo) (rooftop statuary and architectural terracottas); none of these sites have yielded unambiguous evidence of religious activity. See also n. 29.
- 33 Cf. Marius' decision to forego a podium when building his victory temple to Honos and Virtus on the Velia for fear it would interfere with the taking of the public auspices (Fest. p. 466.36-468.3 L).
- 34 Further examples are possible, indeed probable, as the presence or absence of podia is often not mentioned in excavation reports and cannot be discerned from published drawings or photographs. The problem is also noted in Damgaard Andersen 1998, vol. i, 161 n. 699.
- 35 Cornell 1995, 151-172 on 'the myth of "Etruscan Rome"'; Smith 2000, 30.
- 36 Maaskant-Kleibrink 1991, 91; Knoop/Lulof 2009, 32-35.
- 37 Stefani 1944-1945; Nielsen 1992, 124.
- 38 Colonna 1972; 1985, 127-131; Melis 1985.
- 39 Nielsen 1992, 132.
- 40 Pozzo: Gozzadini 1865, 11 and Tav. 5 no 4; *pozzo* contents: Gozzadini 1865, 12-13.
- 41 Cf. Damgaard Andersen 1998, vol. i, 193-197 concluding that temples (as defined by applying multiple criteria excluding podia) appear in Latium approximately half a century earlier than in Etruria, with the caveat that the religious building at Gravisca is Greek rather than Etruscan.
- 42 For example, Boëthius/Ward-Perkins 1970, 38, 48; Colonna 1985, 60-61 (derived from the form of Etruscan houses and tombs); Ramage/Ramage 1995, 28-31; Jannot 2005, 73; Stamper 2005, 8. cf. Cifani 2008, 295 arguing an influence from the Greek stylobate.
- 43 As in Prayon 2010, 86.
- 44 Prayon 1975, 81-82.
- 45 Rosi 1927, 65-66; Colonna 1986, 398; 2006, 142; Izzet 2007, 93; cf. Prayon 2010. Note also Colonna 1985, 60 and 2006, 138 arguing that tumuli may have been appropriated by emerging states and gradually turned into symbols of civic religion. The transition from a private (burial) to a public (religious and civic) context remains problematic, but see Riva 2010.
- 46 Those who connect podia with tumuli bases have further cited the resemblance between domed tumuli covers and round altars, such as that at the Grotta Porcina necropolis at Vetralla, as evidence that both facilitated ritual sacrifices. See Prayon 1975, 81-85 and 2010; cf. Åkerström 1934, 78-84.
- 47 E.g. Kähler 1970, 19; Izzet 2000, 42; cf. Jannot 2005, 102.
- 48 *ThesCRA* iv: 142, s.v. 'Aedes (mondo Italico)' (M. Torelli). A similar idea is expressed in Kähler 1970, 19, Colonna 1985, 60, Gros 1996, vol. i, 122-125, and Cifani 2008, 290 relating the shape of podia to the form of a *templum* or *auguraculum*.
- 49 Smith 1875, 174.
- 50 On architectural terracotta mouldings and motifs see Winter 2009, 573-576; trends seem to have been linked to fashions in other media, particularly vase-painting, rather than building function.
- 51 Nielsen 1992, 56, 109-111; *LTUR* i, 242-245, s.v. 'Castor, Aedes, Templum' (I. Nielsen). The podium of the Temple of Vesta also contained an area that may have been used to store valuable documents and artifacts: Boni 1900, 163-165; *LTUR* v, 125, s.v. 'Vesta, Aedes' (R.T. Scott).
- 52 Claridge 1998, 249.
- 53 Nielsen 1992, 110-111.
- 54 Nielsen 1992, 119. The long-standing use of temples as treasuries indicates that there was no strong dividing line between religious and 'commercial' activities, hence caution is advisable in arguing that ancient religious space was ever fully exclusive.
- 55 On the ambiguous and problematic ethnicity of Servius Tullius, see Cornell 1995, 130-150 and Smith 1996, 151.
- 56 Barletta 2001, 39, 52-53, 79-83.
- 57 Mertens-Horn 1997; Coarelli 2007, 308.
- 58 Mertens-Horn 1995; Winters 2002-2003, 230; 2009, 191-192.
- 59 Waelkens/DePaepe/Moens 1990; Ratté 1993; Barletta 2001, 18, 151.
- 60 Bertman 2003, 194.
- 61 Bertman 2003, 197.
- 62 I am grateful to Sibylle Haynes for this suggestion.
- 63 On the topography of the Forum Boarium see Coarelli 1988; Pisani Sartorio 1989; Smith 1996, 179-180; Coarelli 2007, 307-308.
- 64 La Rocca 1982, 47-48; Holloway 1994, 165-167.

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Découverte de latrines puniques du 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. à Carthage (Bir Massouda)

Boutheina Maraoui Telmini

Abstract

Although many examples of bathrooms in Punic houses of the Hellenistic period show that the Punic people had a keen interest in body care and hygiene, no latrines had ever been found in any archaeological excavation in the Punic world. During the bilateral excavations of the INP (Tunisia) and Ghent University (Belgium) on the Bir Massouda site in ancient Carthage, the remains of two domestic toilets and one public latrine came to light. These are considered in this paper, evidencing the introduction of a sophisticated system of evacuating human faeces from the Carthaginian city. The study of these structures and their fills allows dating their installation to about the end of the 5th century and the beginning of the 4th century BC.¹

Résumé

Les fouilles tuniso-belges dans le secteur sud de Bir Massouda (Carthage) ont permis de mettre au jour, pour la première fois dans un quartier résidentiel, trois structures pouvant être interprétées comme des latrines. Dans deux cas il s'agit de latrines domestiques tandis la troisième structure consiste en une latrine publique. Cette découverte permet de documenter, dans l'état actuel de notre connaissance, le début de l'adoption par les Puniques de Carthage d'un nouveau système de collecte des déchets humains et autres détritiques. L'étude de ces structures ainsi que l'examen minutieux de leur contenu permet de dater leur mise en place vers la fin du 5^{ème} siècle et le début du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.¹

1. INTRODUCTION²

Les recherches puniques sur les installations hygiéniques et la perception de l'hygiène dans l'Antiquité montrent l'intérêt certain accordé par la société ancienne à la propreté du corps et à l'hygiène d'une manière générale. On n'en voudra comme preuve que la présence presque systématique, à partir du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.,³ d'un espace dédié au bain à l'intérieur des habitations puniques. Les exemples de salles d'eau reconnaissables à leur revêtement hydraulique et à la présence de canalisations ou d'autres accessoires de bain sont en effet nombreux dans des cités puniques d'Occident comme Sélinonte, Solonte, Motyé en Sicile, Monte Sirai en Sardaigne, Carthage⁴ en Afrique du Nord et plus particulièrement Kerkouane qui nous offre une typologie riche et variée de ce type d'installation hygiénique. Néanmoins, l'usage de latrines, installations indispensables pour l'évacuation des déchets et des matières fécales n'a jamais été signalé jusqu'à nos jours dans le monde punique. Par ailleurs, signalons qu'à Carthage - plus spécialement dans le quartier Hannibal à Byrsa - des postulats ont été avancés quant à l'usage de certains locaux destinés au bain en tant que latrines. Ainsi, étudiant le cas de la maison 4

de l'îlot C, S. Lancel formule, avec réserve, l'hypothèse de l'utilisation du fond de son couloir d'accès - vraisemblablement fermé sur la rue et également sur la cour - comme latrine.⁵ Quant à la maison 1 de l'îlot E, il y découvre un local doté d'un dispositif hydraulique ayant servi probablement aussi bien en tant que cabinet de douche que de latrines.⁶ Dans les deux cas, aucun aménagement spécifique se rapportant à ces dernières n'a été mentionné,⁷ ce qui nous laisserait supposer que ces espaces auraient été destinés à l'usage de pot de chambre, voire à son évacuation. En effet, le recours à l'usage de pot de chambre, dont l'emplacement le plus approprié serait l'espace dédié au bain, a été retenu notamment par M.-H. Fantar qui a abordé ce sujet dans son étude de l'architecture domestique de la cité de Kerkouane.⁸

Grâce aux fouilles tuniso-belges conduites à Bir Massouda entre 2002 et 2006, nous disposons, pour la première fois à Carthage, de nouvelles données concernant l'installation de latrines aménagées, dans deux cas, dans un contexte domestique; un troisième exemple semble être en rapport avec une installation à caractère défensif attestant vraisemblablement le recours à des toilettes publiques. D'une part, nous avons décou-

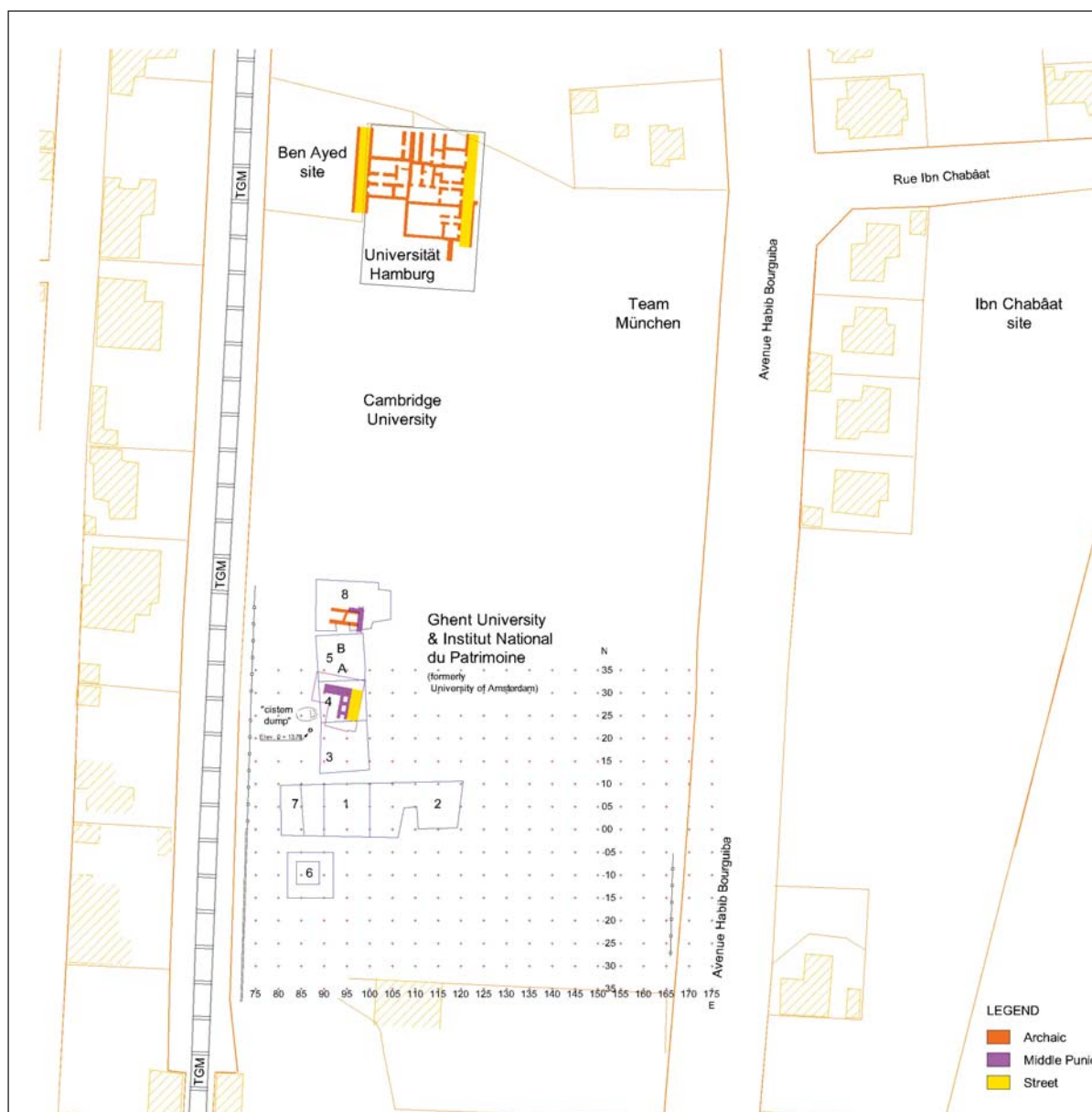


Fig. 1. Emplacement des différentes interventions archéologiques dans le terrain de Bir Massouda (Carthage), (d'après Docter et al. 2006, 38, fig. 1).



Fig. 2. L'amphore-latrine du contexte BM02/1229 implantée dans le sol de la cour de la maison du sondage 1 (photo Université de Gand/INP).



Fig. 3a. L'intérieur de l'amphore-latrine, revêtu d'une couche calcaire; b. La surface externe comportant les traces de «faeces street patina» (photos B. Maraoui Telmini).

vert dans la cour d'une habitation du sondage 1 une amphore de commerce qui a été réutilisée en guise de toilette. D'autre part, nous avons pu reconnaître dans le sondage 7 un dispositif de latrines privées constitué par une fosse aux parois

construites, qui fut aménagée dans une salle de bain d'une maison adjacente à la première.⁹ Le troisième cas, sis dans le sondage 4, révèle une structure maçonnée adossée au mur d'un bastion d'époque punique moyenne et semble indiquer une latrine publique. Dans les trois cas, la chronologie de leur mise en place ne semble pas remonter au-delà de la fin du 5^{ème} siècle ou du début du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.¹⁰

2. CONTEXTE URBANISTIQUE DE LA DECOUVERTE

Situé à proximité du bord de la mer, vers le nord des ports puniques et en contrebas de la colline de Byrsa,¹¹ le terrain de Bir Massouda a fait l'objet depuis quelques années de plusieurs interventions archéologiques (fig. 1),¹² donnant lieu à des résultats très importants.¹³ Dans la partie nord de ce terrain, les fouilles de l'Université de Hambourg ont permis de documenter les restes d'un quartier résidentiel qui remonte à l'époque archaïque et date du milieu du 8^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.¹⁴ Dans le secteur sud, les fouilles tuniso-belges dirigées par F. Chelbi et R. Docter¹⁵ ont révélé une zone *extra muros* ayant abrité un secteur d'une nécropole à incinération datable de la fin du 8^{ème} siècle et du premier quart du 7^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.¹⁶ Ce secteur, désaffecté au cours de la première moitié du 7^{ème} siècle av. J.-C., céda la place à des ateliers de métallurgie et à d'autres activités polluantes¹⁷ qui occupèrent le terrain jusqu'au troisième quart du 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.¹⁸ Au cours du dernier quart du 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C., une large opération de restructuration urbaine eut lieu, entraînant la migration de ces activités artisanales vers le versant sud-est de la colline de Byrsa.¹⁹ La plaine côtière, le secteur de la Rue Ibn Chabâat²⁰ tout comme la partie sud de Bir Massouda²¹ abriteront alors des quartiers résidentiels ce qui marquera une phase importante de l'urbanisme de la Cité punique des Magonides. C'est dans le nouveau quartier résidentiel occupant la partie sud de Bir Massouda que trois structures fouillées durant les campagnes de 2002, 2003 et 2004 furent identifiées comme étant des latrines, découvertes dans les sondages n° 1, 4, et 7.

3. DEUX CAS DE LATRINES PRIVÉES DANS LES SONDAGES 1 ET 7

3.1. La latrine du sondage 1

Description

Il s'agit de la panse d'une amphore cylindrique de transport appartenant au contexte BM02/1229²² et implantée dans le remblai pour être réutilisée en

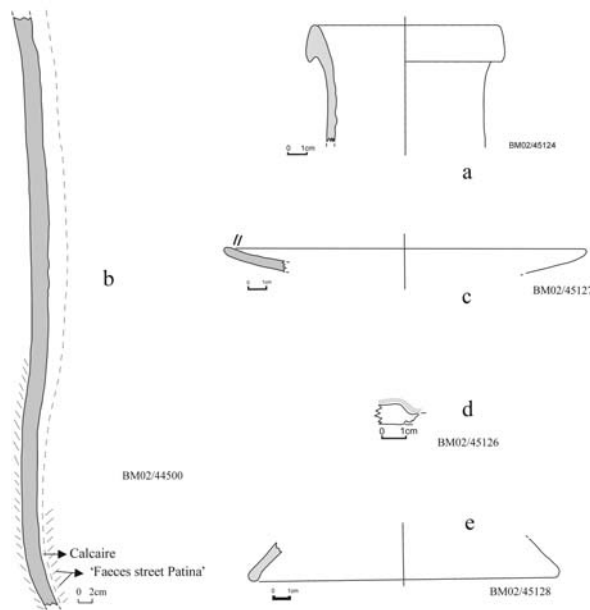


Fig. 4. Céramique des contextes BM02/1228 et BM02/1229 (dessin et encrage B. Maraoui Telmini).

tant que toilette, une fois privée de son bord et de son fond. Cette amphore était adossée à la paroi est d'une citerne située dans la cour d'une maison du sondage 1, sise dans le nouveau quartier résidentiel mis en place à la fin du 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. (fig. 2). Il est à remarquer que l'intérieur de cette amphore est revêtu d'une couche calcaire (fig. 3a). Le remblai y contenu est sableux, de couleur jaunâtre au niveau de la partie haute de la panse, devenant verdâtre assez dur vers le fond. Quant à la céramique contenue dans l'amphore, elle porte les traces de «patine d'excréments de la rue»²³ due à une longue exposition à l'urine et à la dégradation qui en découle. La surface externe de la partie inférieure de l'amphore porte également les mêmes traces (fig. 3b).

Datation

L'amphore réutilisée en tant que latrine est importée de la Sardaigne punique.²⁴ De point de vue typologique elle pourrait appartenir aux types Bartoloni D2-D3/Ramón T-1.4.2.1 datables du 6^{ème} siècle et du début du 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. (fig. 4, b).²⁵ Le même profil de panse caractérise aussi les amphores des types Bartoloni D4-D6/Ramón T-1.4.4.1 du 5^{ème} siècle et du commencement du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.²⁶ Par ailleurs, le contexte BM02/1229 renferme également un fragment de bord d'une grande cruche (Cat. 2: BM02/45124) appartenant au type Vegas F. 28.4 datable du dernier

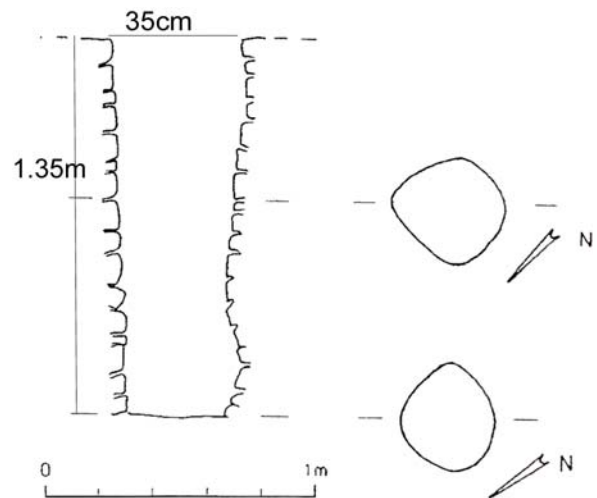
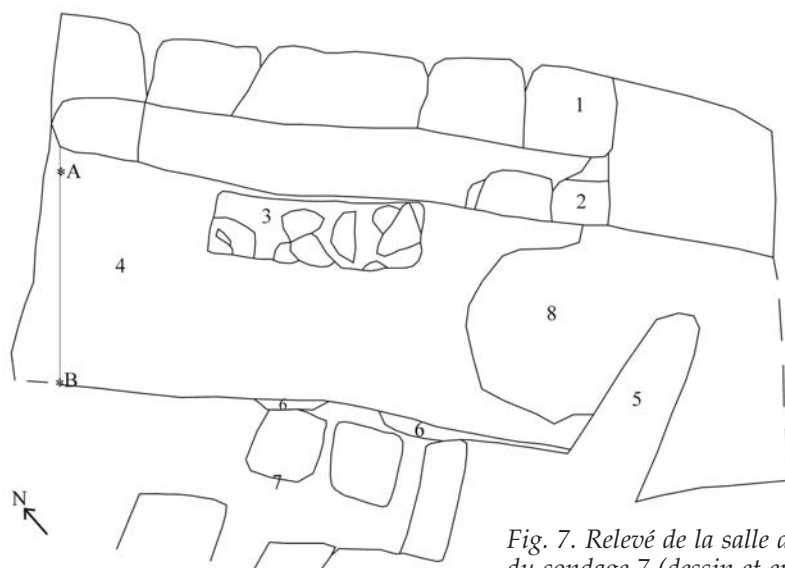


Fig. 5a. Vue de la maçonnerie de la latrine du sondage 7 (photo Université de Gand/INP); b. Section de la latrine (dessin B. Maraoui Telmini, encrage J. Angenon).



Fig. 6. Vue de la salle d'eau avec l'emplacement de la latrine scellé par les fragments d'enduit hydraulique de couleur grise (photo Université de Gand/INP).



BM 04/relv. N° 3
Ech. 1/20

Légende:

- 1- BM04/7438 et 2- BM04/7439: structures en pierre taillée
- 3- BM04/7445: banquette
- 4- BM04/7441: pavement grisâtre
- 5- BM04/7447: négatif d'une structure qui traverse le sol BM04/7441
- 6- BM04/7445: enduit étanche de couleur grise
- 7- BM04/7448: siège de bain
- 8- BM04/7450: emplacement de l'effondrement de stucs couvrant la latrine

Fig. 7. Relevé de la salle d'eau et de l'emplacement de la latrine du sondage 7 (dessin et encrage B. Maraoui Telmini).

quart du 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. et au cours du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. (fig. 4 a).²⁷ Un *terminus ante quem* est fourni par le remblai qu'elle contient et qui a été désigné par le contexte BM02/1228.²⁸ En effet, l'ensemble des fragments contenus dans ce contexte (fig. 4, c, d et e) permet de le dater de la fin du 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. et de la première moitié du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C., notamment sur la base du bord du couvercle importé (Cat. 6: BM02/45128) ainsi que du fragment de céramique à vernis noir de production grecque (Cat. 7: BM02/45125). Si notre attribution du fragment de bord de plat peint (Cat. 5: BM02/45126) au type Vegas F.1.3 s'avère juste, cette chronologie ne peut qu'être confortée vu qu'il s'agit d'un type n'ayant pas survécu au-delà du milieu du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. Le fragment du plat lissé et peint de production carthaginoise (Cat. 4: BM02/45127) serait vraisemblablement un élément résiduel qui appartiendrait à une strate antérieure à l'installation de l'amphore-latrine, aux dépens de laquelle cette dernière aurait été aménagée.

Par ailleurs, les données stratigraphiques relatives à ce secteur²⁹ suggèrent une datation au cours du Punique Moyen II, entre le dernier quart du 5^{ème} s. av. J.-C. et le commencement du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C., pour la construction de la maison dans laquelle a été retrouvée cette amphore-latrine.

3.2 La latrine du sondage 7 (contexte BM04/7457)

Description

Il s'agit d'une fosse dont les parois ont été construites avec des pierres et des moellons liés par un enduit fait de sable et d'argile (fig. 5a) et dont

la partie supérieure a disparu. Le fond qui n'est pas construit³⁰ est situé à 9.06 m au-dessus du niveau de la mer. La tranchée de la latrine de 35 cm de diamètre est profonde de 1.35 m à partir du bord de la fosse (fig. 5b). Cependant, il est à remarquer que la maçonnerie du bord est construite avec de grosses pierres. Cette latrine occupe la partie est d'une salle d'eau mesurant 3 m de long et environ 1.40 m de large dont les parois et le sol sont recouverts d'un revêtement hydraulique de couleur grise (figs 6, 7). La fouille de l'ensemble des contextes se rapportant à cette structure indique l'existence de deux phases de son utilisation. En effet, un sol de torba brûlé, assez mal conservé et présentant des traces noirâtres et grasses, semble remonter à la phase de l'installation de la latrine. Ce niveau est en parfait agencement avec une première série de pierres légèrement aplaties entourant le bord de la fosse (fig. 8). La deuxième phase correspond à l'élargissement de l'espace réservé à la latrine et à la mise en place d'une salle de bain assez spacieuse. Cette salle de bain est dotée d'une banquette située sur le côté nord, couverte du même enduit grisâtre étanche (fig. 9a). En face de la banquette, une dépression fut aménagée aux dépens du mur du côté sud, couverte elle-même par un enduit grisâtre étanche dont les restes sont encore en place; il s'agit vraisemblablement d'un siège de bain (fig. 9b).³¹ Remarquons cependant que le bloc formant le côté est de ce siège est perforé indiquant probablement l'emplacement d'une tuyauterie aujourd'hui disparue.

La mise en place du nouveau sol cimenté de la salle de bain a nécessité l'élévation du niveau de fréquentation d'environ 45 cm avec l'installation



Fig. 8. Vue du sol en torba brûlé en parfaite agencement avec un premier niveau de pierres aplaties formant le bord de la latrine (photo Université de Gand/INP).

d'un lit de pose constitué de grosses et moyennes pierres (contexte BM04/7452) à la base desquelles est placé un lit d'argile (fig. 10). Cette transformation a obligé vraisemblablement l'élévation du bord de la latrine lui-même. En effet, à cette deuxième phase remonterait le rajout de la partie supérieure de la maçonnerie en grosses pierres. Sur le côté nord-est du nouveau bassin persistent les traces d'une canalisation aménagée dans la paroi et revêtue par le même enduit hydraulique.³² Cette canalisation, est en parfaite connexion avec le dernier niveau du sol de la salle de bain et semble servir à déverser les eaux usées vers l'extérieur où nous avons trouvé les restes d'un sol en torba appartenant probablement à la cour de la maison.

Datation

La chronologie de cette structure repose aussi bien sur les données de la stratigraphie que sur la datation de la céramique qu'elle contient, alors que celle de la céramique renfermée dans le remblai d'abondant, elle fournit un *terminus post quem* pour sa fréquentation.³³ En effet, certains contextes appartenant à ce remblai d'abondant ont été recueillis directement au-dessus du sol cimenté de la salle d'eau.³⁴ Il est significatif que le matériel exhumé dans l'ensemble de ces contextes ne renferme pas de céramique campanienne, par contre, il comporte plusieurs fragments de céramique attique et de production grecque occidentale (fig. 11). Le remblai renfermé dans la latrine (contexte BM04/7453) constitue un contexte sellé par les fragments du stuc provenant des parois de la salle de bain qui formaient une couche assez épaisse s'étalant sur toute la surface du sol. Ce



Fig. 9a. Vue de la banquette de la salle d'eau du sondage 7; b. Vue du siège de bain (photos Université de Gand/INP).



Fig. 10. Vue du lit de pose du sol de la salle d'eau, appartenant à la deuxième phase de son utilisation (photo Université de Gand/INP).

remblai a livré un nombre considérable de fragments³⁵ qui se caractérisent par une proportion importante de céramique importée comprenant aussi bien des fragments de céramique attique à



Fig. 11. Céramique à vernis noir attique et de production occidentale des contextes BM04/7443 et BM04/7444 (photo B. Maraoui Telmini).



Fig. 12. Fragments de céramique à figures rouges attiques et sicéliotes du contexte BM04/7453 (photo B. Maraoui Telmini).

figure rouge³⁶ que des fragments de céramique sicéliote à figure rouge³⁷ (fig. 12). Notons égale-



Fig. 13. Fragments de céramique à vernis noir attiques et de productions occidentales du contexte BM04/7453 (photo B. Maraoui Telmini).



Fig. 14. Fragments de céramique punique peinte du contexte BM04/7453 (photo B. Maraoui Telmini).

ment la présence d'un nombre considérable de fragments de céramique à vernis noir attique et de production occidentale (fig. 13). Les fragments d'amphores importées consistent en un bord d'amphore type corinthienne B de production occidentale, un fragment de bord d'amphore de production maltaise et une pointe d'une amphore de Samos.³⁸ Parmi le matériel de cette latrine, nous avons recueilli un minuscule fragment de bord d'un plat à engobe rouge, six fragments de céramique commune lissée³⁹ ainsi que plusieurs fragments de céramique locale peinte (fig. 14). Signalons également que la découverte d'un nombre important de fragments de marmites (fig. 15), de bords de couvercles, de fragments de filtres (fig. 16) et de deux casseroles presque com-



Fig. 15. Fragments de céramique culinaire punique du contexte BM04/7453 (photo B. Maraoui Telmini).



Fig. 17. Deux casseroles provenant du contexte BM04/7453 (photo B. Maraoui Telmini).



Fig. 16. Fragments de filtres du contexte BM04/7453 (photo B. Maraoui Telmini).



plètes (fig. 17), atteste vraisemblablement de la contiguïté sinon de la proximité d'un foyer ou d'une aire de cuisine.⁴⁰

La céramique recueillie dans ce remblai s'échelonne de la fin du 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. au milieu ou au troisième quart du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.⁴¹ L'existence, parmi la céramique locale, de fragments de céramiques lissées permet de faire remonter l'installation de cette latrine au dernier quart du 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C., datation qui s'accorde avec la mise en place du nouveau quartier résidentiel de Bir Massouda. Par ailleurs, notons l'absence de céramique à vernis noir d'imitation locale dans le matériel de ce contexte. La chrono-

logie retenue pour la période de désaffectation de cette structure, sur la base de la céramique qu'elle contient, a été fixée entre 360 et 340 av. J.-C.⁴² Compte tenu de la nature de cette structure qui devait être évacuée assez souvent, il est clair qu'à chaque fois quelques fragments en échappent constituant un matériel résiduel qui peut nous renseigner finalement sur toute la période de son utilisation.⁴³ Celle-ci pourrait se situer approximativement entre le dernier quart du 5^{ème} siècle et le troisième quart du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C., époque d'abandon de la latrine et, plus généralement, de la destruction de cet ensemble architectural.

4. UNE LATRINE PUBLIQUE DANS LE SONDAGE 4⁴⁴

Description

Il s'agit d'une structure semi-circulaire, construite avec des moellons liés par un mortier argileux de couleur grise désignée par le contexte BM03/4340 (fig. 18) adossée à l'intersection de deux murs d'époque punique moyenne. Son fond n'a pas été construit alors que sa partie supérieure a disparu. Les dimensions conservées sont: environ 1.20 m de hauteur et le diamètre le plus large est d'environ 90 cm. Les structures en rapport avec cette découverte semblent appartenir à des restes de fortification. Il s'agit des restes d'un bastion, dont le côté oriental est constitué de deux murs parallèles liés par des murets transversaux (type de mur à casemate), longé sur sa façade est par une rue (fig. 1). Il est également établi que les murs de ce bastion d'époque punique moyenne reposent sur les restes d'un bastion d'époque archaïque réutilisés comme fondation. Une couche de débris de pierre, utilisée pour la construction de ces murs, permet de les dater de la fin du 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.⁴⁵ Ainsi, un tronçon de fortification d'époque archaïque a été, semble-il, incorporé dans le tissu urbain de la cité à la suite de nouvelles opérations de restructuration effectuées vers la fin du 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. La présente latrine, adossée au mur



Fig. 18. Vue de la latrine publique du sondage 4 (photo Université de Gand/INP).

externe du nouveau bastion, serait plutôt une latrine publique, vraisemblablement utilisée en tant qu'urinoir.

Datation

La chronologie de la latrine du sondage 4 repose sur celle du bastion ainsi que sur la datation de la céramique recueillie à l'intérieur et lors de la démolition de cette latrine (contextes BM03/4340 et BM03/4341).⁴⁶ Il est à remarquer que le matériel provenant de la démolition de la structure elle-même renferme plusieurs fragments de céramique datables du 7^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. Ceci n'est guère surprenant si nous considérons le contexte urbanistique dans lequel cette latrine a été mise en place. En effet, l'opération de restructuration urbaine déjà évoquée nécessita la rénovation du bastion d'époque archaïque contigu à la latrine. Les fragments de céramique contenus dans le contexte BM03/4340 sont à notre avis des fragments résiduels intégrés lors de l'édification de cette latrine, provenant naturellement des débris du bastion archaïque démoli. Néanmoins, la présence, dans ce même contexte, d'un fragment d'un bord de plat à vernis noir de production italique datable du 3^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. (Cat. 16: BM03/47326) nous laisse perplexe, à moins qu'il soit intrusif. En effet, toutes les données stratigraphiques relatives aux structures se rapportant à la latrine du sondage 4 ne descendent pas au-delà de la fin du 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.⁴⁷ Il est à noter également que le remblai contenu dans cette latrine (contexte BM03/4341) renferme deux fragments de céramiques datables du 5^{ème} siècle jusqu'à la deuxième moitié du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. (Cat. 18: BM03/50709 et Cat. 19: BM03/50710), constituant un *terminus ante quem* à la mise en place de cette structure. L'ensemble de ces indices permet de proposer, pour la construction de cette latrine, une chronologie comprise entre la fin du 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. et la première moitié du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.

5. INTERPRÉTATION

Bien que les données dont nous disposons soient limitées dans le temps et dans l'espace, nous estimons qu'il est possible de proposer quelques éléments d'interprétations afin de mieux comprendre ce type de structures et les placer dans un contexte plus général en rapport avec l'urbanisation de la métropole punique. Notons de prime abord qu'il est significatif que la chronologie de la mise en place des trois types d'installation hygiénique de Bir Massouda se rapporte à l'époque punique moyenne. L'adoption de ces nouvelles structures

peut trouver une explication plausible en rapport avec les mutations qu'a connu la métropole punique à partir de la fin du 6^{ème} siècle et au début du 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. En effet, les résultats des fouilles antérieures, effectuées à Carthage par différentes équipes, ont révélé la richesse en matériaux archéologiques de strates assez épaisses remontant à l'époque archaïque.⁴⁸ En contrepartie, la rareté du matériel (publié) datant de la seconde moitié du 6^{ème} siècle et du début du 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. est un fait remarquable.⁴⁹ Docter explique cette situation par l'usage - fréquent durant l'époque archaïque - des restes domestiques et des débris architecturaux pour l'élévation des niveaux des sols et des rues.⁵⁰ A partir de la seconde moitié du 6^{ème} siècle av. J.-C., ces couches d'égales sont plus minces, donnant l'impression qu'à cette époque là Carthage organisa un système de collecte systématique des déchets et des restes domestiques, avec l'introduction de service urbain de *koprologoi*.⁵¹ Il est significatif dans ce sens que les sols remontant à l'époque archaïque soient de simples sols de *torba*, donnant l'impression que la conservation du même nivellement des rues encouragea les Carthaginois à investir depuis dans des revêtements de sol plus permanents.⁵² C'est dans ce cadre général qu'il nous faudrait sans doute considérer l'introduction de l'usage des latrines à Carthage, vraisemblablement au cours du dernier quart du 5^{ème} siècle. La métropole punique serait ainsi la première des cités méditerranéennes à avoir introduit ce type d'installation hygiénique.⁵³ Certes, cette hypothèse restera fragile tant que d'autres découvertes ne viendront pas étoffer le dossier des installations sanitaires à Carthage ou dans le monde punique, nous en sommes consciente. Toutefois, nous ne pouvons que relever l'antériorité⁵⁴ du point de vue chronologique des latrines découvertes à Carthage par rapport aux autres installations du même type déjà attestées dans d'autres régions de la Méditerranée. Une récente étude relative aux latrines hellénistiques, effectuée par M. Trümper,⁵⁵ a permis à l'auteur de conclure ainsi: «The latrine was an invention of the Hellenistic koine, and its design, standards, and popularity still varied enormously from city to city»,⁵⁶ constatation qu'il faudra à notre avis nuancer. En effet, les latrines domestiques de Morgantina remontent au 3^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.⁵⁷ Il en est de même pour les maisons fouillées à Eretria: deux d'entre elles sont dotées de latrines datant respectivement du 4^{ème} et du 2^{ème} siècle av. J.-C., quant aux nombreuses latrines découvertes à Délos, elles ne remontent pas au-delà de 167-166 av. J.-C.

Si nous considérons les types de latrines dont

nous disposons à Bir Massouda ainsi que leur emplacement par rapport à l'articulation de l'espace domestique ou celui de la cité, nous serons en mesure de formuler également quelques remarques. Dans les deux cas, il s'agit effectivement de structures construites soigneusement avec de moellons à liant argileux, le troisième correspond à une amphore réutilisée. Malheureusement, la partie supérieure des latrines n'existe plus. Néanmoins, cette lacune ne nous empêche pas de supposer l'existence de siège à support de pierres, notamment dans le cas de la latrine du sondage 7 dont le bord est construit avec des grosses pierres. Dans le cas de l'amphore, nous sommes tentées de proposer la fonction d'urinoir. Notons, à cet égard, que la base de l'amphore en question a été enlevée avant son utilisation comme latrine et, ce, selon toute vraisemblance, intentionnellement. En effet, étant dépourvue de fond, l'urine et les eaux usées pouvaient facilement être absorbées par le sous-sol. D'ailleurs, son emplacement à côté du puits autrement dit dans la cour - ainsi que sa grande capacité par rapport aux autres variantes de l'époque⁵⁹ pourront plaider en faveur de cette hypothèse. Par ailleurs, nous savons, qu'à l'époque romaine, l'urine recueillie dans ce type de récipient servait aussi bien pour le nettoyage et le dégraisage des vêtements que pour d'autres activités industrielles, pharmaceutiques ou cosmétiques.⁶⁰ Ainsi, sommes-nous en droit de nous demander, notamment, si cette tradition n'était également en usage chez les Puniques de Carthage.

La même fonction d'urinoir serait plus appropriée à la latrine publique du sondage 4, adossée au mur extérieur d'un bastion, donc construite dans un emplacement public. Notons également la proximité de la rue qui longe le côté est du bastion (fig. 1). Cette latrine publique serait ainsi placée au bord de la rue à la manière de celles retrouvées à Pompéi à une époque ultérieure. Quoi qu'il en soit, il faut bien remarquer que dans les trois cas, la capacité des latrines n'étant pas très grande, le recours à leur vidange devait être assez fréquent. En outre, le fond n'étant pas construit, les urines et les eaux usées pouvaient être absorbées par le sous-sol. Notons enfin que l'emplacement de la latrine du sondage 7 à l'intérieur de l'espace dédié au bain semble être une localisation adéquate en raison de la disponibilité de l'eau. D'ailleurs, l'excédent des eaux utilisées dans la salle de bain servait probablement à nettoyer les latrines. Aussi, une relation étroite semble exister entre le système de canalisation et sa proximité avec les installations hygiéniques facilitant ainsi l'évacuation des eaux de bains privés

vers la cour. Rappelons, à cet effet, la présence de canalisation aménagée dans la paroi de la salle de bain du sondage 7 qui arrive dans la cour en *torba* adjacente.

En définitive et à la lumière des récentes découvertes de latrines à Carthage, nous proposons de ré-ouvrir le dossier des installations hygiéniques, notamment pour ce qui est de la métropole punique. Le réexamen des fouilles antérieures

pourrait révéler d'autres structures mal identifiées ou non reconnues en tant que telles.⁶¹ Signalons par ailleurs, que l'étude du contenu des présentes latrines ouvre de nouvelles perspectives de recherche en rapport avec le régime alimentaire des Puniques de Carthage et leurs habitudes gastronomiques ou culinaires.⁶²

CATALOGUE

Inventaire du contexte BM02/1229

Outre de l'amphore elle-même, faisant fonction de toilette, ce contexte se compose d'un fragment de bord d'une cruche punique en céramique commune ainsi que d'un fragment d'une anse d'amphore punique de production carthaginoise.

CERAMIQUE COMMUNE LOCALE

Cat. 1: BM02/45123, 1 fragment d'une anse d'amphore punique.

Argile KTS à surface blanc (2.5YR 8/2);⁶³ pâte sandwich: bords de couleur rouge clair (2.5YR 6/6) et coeur gris clair (10YR 7/1); H. préservée: 6,4 cm.

Cat. 2: BM02/45124, 1 fragment de bord d'une grande cruche (fig. 4, a).

Argile KTS assez bien cuite de couleur jaune pâle (5Y 8/3); diam. du bord: 10,2 cm; H. préservée: 6,1 cm. Il s'agit d'une cruche à une anse qui se caractérise par un bord en bandeau à profil vertical et un col cylindrique. Notre fragment appartient au type Vegas F. 28.4 datable du dernier quart du 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. et au cours du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.⁶⁴ C'est une forme qui apparaît à Carthage déjà dans les contextes du 6^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.⁶⁵ et continue à être en usage tout le long du 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.⁶⁶ Ce fragment s'apparente également au sous-type B des grandes cruches retrouvées à Bir Massouda dans les fouilles entreprises par l'Université de Hambourg, classées par Bechtold et datées de l'époque punique moyenne.⁶⁷ Néanmoins, il semble que les fragments datables des 6^{ème}/5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. se caractérisent par des bords légèrement plus épaissis par rapport au notre, ne présentant pas pour la plupart de gorge interne.⁶⁸ Notons par ailleurs, qu'un fragment de bord d'une cruche similaire, retrouvé en stratigraphie parmi le matériel de la «Zone C» à Motyé, a été daté également de la fin du 5^{ème} siècle et du début du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.⁶⁹

CERAMIQUE COMMUNE IMPORTÉE

Cat. 3: BM02/44500, 48 fragments joignables d'une panse d'amphore importée de la Sardaigne punique (fig. 4, b). Argile⁷⁰ assez bien cuite et sablonneuse, brun rouge clair au coeur (5 YR 6/4), jaune rouge en surface (5 YR 6/8). Le dégraissant renferme beaucoup d'inclusions de

quartz angulaires de petite taille (0.3/0.6 millimètres), d'éparses grandes particules noires (d'environ 4 millimètres), quelques inclusions de couleur rouge (0.4 millimètres) ainsi que des petites inclusions rocheuses de couleur blanche (1 millimètre). Il s'agit d'une amphore importée de la Sardaigne punique et appartenant à la fabrique 81 de Bechtold, concernant les amphores importées de Bir Massouda.⁷¹ Ses dimensions conservées sont: 39cm de diamètre et 40 cm de hauteur. D'après sa forme cette amphore pourrait être datée du 6^{ème} et du début du 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. ou du 5^{ème} siècle et du commencement du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.⁷²

Inventaire du contexte BM02/1228

Ce contexte se compose de 23 fragments de parois de céramique locale et de 3 fragments de bords datables en plus d'un minuscule fragment de stuc de couleur rouge.

CERAMIQUE LOCALE LISSÉE ET PEINTE

Cat. 4: BM02/45127: 1 fragment de bord d'un plat lissé peint (fig. 4, c).

Argile KTS assez bien cuite, pâte sandwich: bords rouge clair (10R 6/8), coeur rouge clair (2.5YR 6/6), surface rose (5YR 8/3); peinture sous forme de deux lignes parallèles de couleur gris rose (5 YR 7/2) à l'intérieur soulignant le bord; diam. du bord: 20 cm, H. préservé: 1,3 cm.

Il s'agit d'un plat appartenant au sous-type Peserico P2.III⁷³ d'époque archaïque dont certaines variantes survivent jusqu'aux premières années du 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.⁷⁴ Un fragment très similaire au nôtre, comportant le même décor peint soulignant l'intérieur du bord, a été retrouvé parmi le matériel de la fouille de l'Université de Hambourg à Carthage, au-dessous du *Decumanus Maximus*.⁷⁵ Ce fragment, de forme assez proche des exemplaires à engobe rouge ou peints recensés dans les couches archaïques du 7^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. dans le terrain Ben Ayed, a été retrouvé en association avec deux autres bords non peints du même type.⁷⁶ Selon toute vraisemblance, notre plat serait un élément résiduel dans le contexte BM02/1228.

CERAMIQUE LOCALE PEINTE

Cat. 5: BM02/45126: 1 fragment de bord d'un plat peint (fig. 4, d).

Argile KTS assez bien cuite, pâte de couleur brun rouge

(2.5 YR 5/4); présence de peinture rouge faible (10R 5/3) assez mal conservée sur la surface interne; H. préservée environ 0,9 cm. L'orientation n'étant pas claire, la forme ne l'est pas non plus, il s'agit probablement du type Vegas F1.3 à large marli et à cupule centrale. Ce type de plat assez fréquent dans les strates du 5^{ème} siècle du quartier Magon, reste en usage au cours du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C., sans atteindre pour autant la fin de ce siècle.⁷⁷ En effet, que ce soit à Carthage⁷⁸ ou dans d'autres sites puniques de la Méditerranée occidentale,⁷⁹ cette forme ne semble pas avoir perduré au-delà du milieu du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.

CERAMIQUE CULINAIRE IMPORTÉE

Cat. 6: BM02/45128, 1 fragment de bord de couvercle (fig. 4, e).

Argile assez bien cuite, très épurée, gris brun clair (10 YR 6/2), surface micacée; traces de feu sur les deux faces; diam. du bord environ 20 cm; H. préservée: 2,4 cm. Il s'agit d'un type de couvercle associé généralement aux lopades classiques qui apparaissent à Athènes au cours du 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. et perdurent jusqu'à l'époque hellénistique. En effet, les couvercles du même type ont été retrouvés, parmi le matériel de l'Agora d'Athènes, au plus tôt dans les contextes du 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.⁸⁰

CERAMIQUE A VERNIS NOIR IMPORTÉE

Cat. 7: BM02/45125, 1 fragment de paroi appartenant à une forme ouverte indéterminée de céramique à vernis noir.

Argile micacée, bien épurée de couleur jaune rouge (5YR 6/6); vernis noir lissée et luisant bien adhérent sur les deux faces; la surface interne porte les traces d'un filet de peinture de couleur rouge clair (2.5YR 6/6). Bien que ce fragment ne soit pas attique, les caractéristiques de sa pâte et la qualité de son vernis incitent à l'attribuer à une production grecque incontestable, n'autorisant pas de le faire descendre au-delà du milieu du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C., voire le troisième quart du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.

Inventaire du contexte BM03/4340

Ce contexte renferme 18 fragments de parois d'amphores locales dont un provient probablement d'une amphore de table ayant une pâte soigneusement épurée; 1 fragment de *tabouna*; 6 fragments de plats à engobe rouge dont une paroi, deux bords, un fond et deux parois brûlées; 6 fragments de parois de formes fermées de petites dimensions (pots et petites cruches?) en céramique commune locale; 1 fragment de plat à vernis noir de production italique; 1 fragment de bord de jatte en céramique modelée d'importation; 3 fragments de parois d'amphores grecques d'importation dont deux à pâte très micacée qui semblent appartenir à la même production.

CERAMIQUE COMMUNE LOCALE

Cat. 8: BM03/47333, fond d'un brûle-parfum dont les extrémités sont très érodées (fig. 19a).

Argile KTS jaune rouge (5YR 7/6); H. préservée: 2,8 cm.

Bien que nous n'ayons pas trouvé de parallèle exacte de cette forme, la base en forme de patère à tige centrale perforée rappelle certains brûle-parfums à coupelles superposées, pour lesquels «la coupelle centrale supérieure comporte un trou à la verticale qui traverse tout le vase»,⁸¹ sans pour autant leurs être identique.

Cat. 9: BM03/47327, fragment d'une anse d'amphore de production carthaginoise (fig. 19b).

Argile KTS, H. préservée: 6,3 cm; ce fragment porte des traces de fumée sur les deux faces.

Cat. 10: BM03/47328, fragment de bord d'une amphore de production carthaginoise (fig. 19c).

Argile KTS, pâte sandwich: bords rouge clair (2.5YR 6/6), coeur brun pâle (10YR 6/3), surface rose (5YR 8/4). Diam. du bord: 12 cm, H. préservée: 3,1 cm. Il s'agit d'un bord d'une amphore archaïque du type Ramón T.2.1.1.1 attribuée aux productions de Carthage et celles de Malte, dont la chronologie s'étend du premier ou du second quart jusqu'à la fin du 7^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.⁸²

Cat. 11: BM03/47332, fragment d'une anse bifide dont un seul boudin a été préservé, présentant une section circulaire (fig. 19d).

Argile KTS jaune rouge (5YR 7/6) soigneusement épurée. H. préservée: 5,3 cm.

Cat. 12: BM03/47334, tenon d'une forme semi-ouverte ou fermée difficile à déterminer qui porte des traces de tournage sur la face interne (fig. 19e).

Argile KTS, pâte brun jaune clair (10YR 6/4) et surface jaune rouge (7.5YR 7/6); traces de peinture jaune rouge (5YR 6/6) sur la surface externe délimitant le tenon. H. préservée: environ 3,6 cm.

CERAMIQUE A ENGOBE ROUGE LOCALE

Cat. 13: BM03/ 47337, 1 fragment de bord de plat à engobe rouge, (fig. 19f).

Argile KTS; pâte rouge clair (2.5YR 6/6), engobe rouge (2.5YR 5/8) sur les deux faces. Diam. du bord: 17 cm; largeur du bord: 2,8 cm; H. préservée: 1 cm. Il s'agit de la forme Vegas I.2.1 datable du 7^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.⁸³

Cat. 14: BM03/ 47336, 1 fragment de bord de plat à engobe rouge (fig. 19g).

Argile KTS; pâte jaune rouge (5YR 6/6), engobe rouge clair (2.5YR 6/6) sur la surface interne, surface externe lissée. Diam. du bord: 24 cm; largeur du bord: 3,9 cm; H. préservée: 0,9 cm. Ce fragment appartient à la forme Vegas I.2.4 datable de la première moitié du 7^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.⁸⁴

Cat. 15: BM03/ 47339, 1 fragment de fond de plat à engobe rouge (fig. 19h).

Argile KTS, pâte rouge clair (2.5YR 6/8); engobe rouge très mal conservé sur la face interne. Diam. de la base: 6 cm; H. conservée: 1,6 cm. Il s'agit de la forme Peserico B1.II datable de la première moitié du 7^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.⁸⁵

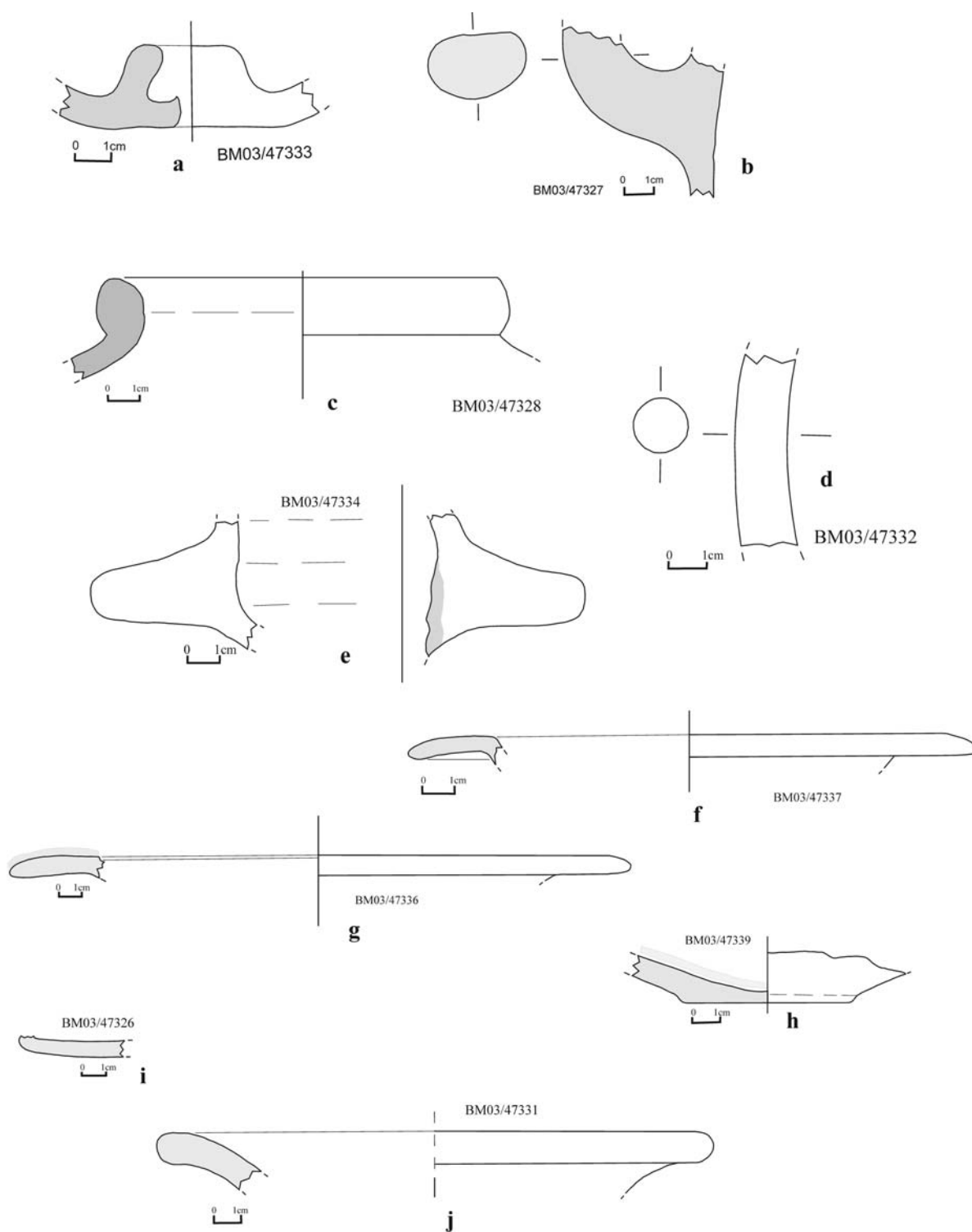


Fig. 19. Céramique du contexte BM03/4340 (dessin et encrage B. Maraoui Telmini).

CERAMIQUE A VERNIS NOIR D'IMPORTATION

Cat. 16: BM03/47326, 1 fragment de bord de plat en céramique à vernis noir de production italique (fig. 19i).

Argile assez bien épurée brun rouge (5YR 5/4), vernis noir mat bien adhérent et lissé, présentant des zones d'aspect métalléscent par l'effet de l'enfouissement. Etant donné sa taille et son état de conservation, il est difficile de le rattacher de manière certaine à une forme bien précise. Cependant, il nous semble assez proche de la série Morel 2233 attribuée d'une manière générale aux productions de l'Italie centrale et septentrionale et datée au cours du 3^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.⁸⁶

CERAMIQUE MODELÉE D'IMPORTATION

Cat. 17: BM03/47331, 1 fragment de bord de jatte en céramique modelée, lissée sur les deux faces (fig. 19j).

Argile brun foncé (7.5YR 3/2) très micacée, surface de couleur brun (7.5YR 5/2). Diam. du bord: 36 cm; H. préservée 2,2 cm. Il s'agit d'un bord légèrement épaissi, déversé vers l'extérieur, appartenant à une forme ouverte assez large, pour laquelle nous n'avons pas trouvé d'équivalent parmi le matériel publié provenant de Carthage.

Inventaire du contexte BM03/4341⁸⁷

Ce contexte renferme 26 fragments de parois d'amphores locales; 3 fragments de parois d'amphores importées dont 1 paroi d'une amphore corinthienne A; 1 paroi d'une amphore punique de Sicile et 1 paroi d'une amphore punique d'origine indéterminée; 1 fragment de paroi de cruche importée de la Sicile punique; 4 fragments de *tabouna*; 1 fragment de paroi d'une forme ouverte en céramique modelée lissée sur les deux faces; 2 fragments de plat à engobe rouge résiduels dont un bord très mal conservé; 1 fragment de bord de cruche de production carthaginoise ainsi qu'un fragment de bord de casserole de production locale imitant la forme de *lopas* grec.

CERAMIQUE COMMUNE LOCALE

Cat. 18: BM03/50709, un fragment de bord de cruche (fig. 20a).

Argile KTS assez bien cuite, pâte jaune pâle (5Y 7/3); diam. bord: 13 cm; H. préservée: 6.2 cm. Ce fragment de bord appartient à la forme Vegas 28.5 datable au cours du 5^{ème} et du 4^{ème} siècles av. J.-C.⁸⁸ En fait, il s'agit d'une variante de la forme Vegas 28 déjà répertoriée dans le contexte BM02/1229.⁸⁹

CERAMIQUE CULINAIRE DE PRODUCTION LOCALE

Cat. 19: BM03/50710, un fragment de bord de casserole (fig. 20b).

Argile KTS, pâte rouge clair (2.5YR 6/6), surface blanc (5Y 8/1) qui porte les traces de fumée sur la surface externe et le fond interne. Diam. du bord 16,5 cm; H. préservée: 6 cm. Il s'agit du type Vegas F 68.1, retrouvée à Carthage dans les contextes du milieu du 5^{ème} siècle jusqu'à la deuxième moitié du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.⁹⁰

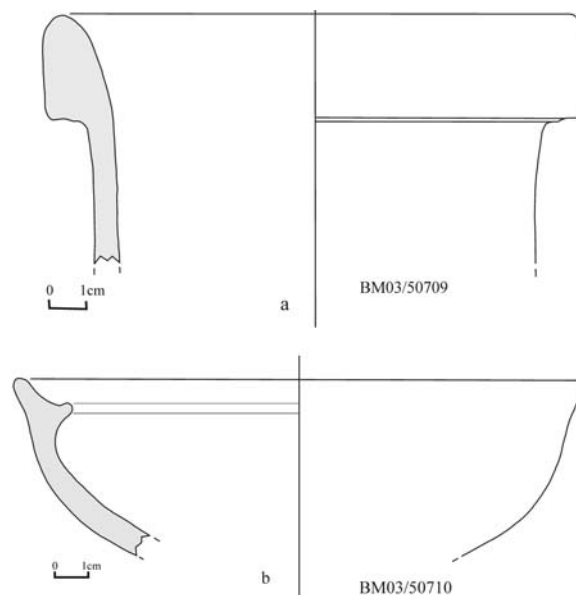


Fig. 20. Céramique du contexte BM03/4341 (dessin et encrage B. Maraoui Telmini).

C'est une forme qui imite les *lopades* grecs qui étaient en usage au cours des 5^{ème}/4^{ème} siècles av. J.-C. Deux exemplaires similaires ont été retrouvés également à Bir Massouda durant les campagnes de 2002 et 2004. Le premier, appartenant au contexte (BM02/1234), a été daté par B. Bechtold au cours des trente premières années du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.⁹¹ Le second, faisant partie du matériel de la latrine du sondage 7, déjà évoquée, a été daté entre 360 et 340 av. J.-C.⁹² Notons enfin que ce type de casserole apparaît, dans les fouilles de l'Université de Hambourg au-dessous du *Decumanus Maximus*, essentiellement dans des contextes de la seconde moitié du 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. et de la première moitié du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.⁹³

NOTES

¹ En ce qui concerne le nom du site nous tenons à préciser que, dans les fouilles de l'Université d'Amsterdam qui avaient été étroitement coordonnées avec les collègues de l'Université de Cambridge, a été appliquée la transcription 'Bir Messaouda' qui renvoie au toponyme arabe (notamment dans Docter 2002 et 2004). Cependant, dans le cadre du projet Tuniso-belge de l'INP (Tunis) et de l'Université de Gand (Belgique) sur le même site ainsi que dans la présente contribution, il a été préféré d'utiliser la transcription 'Bir Massouda'.

² Je tiens à remercier mes collègues F. Chelbi (INP, Tunis), R.F. Docter (Université de Gand, Belgique) et B. Bechtold (Graz) pour leur soutien continu et fidèle durant toutes ces années de collaboration scientifique. Les fouilles sur le site de Bir Massouda 2 et les campagnes d'étude qui en découlent ont été généreusement soutenues, du côté belge, par la Faculté des Lettres et de Philosophie de l'Université de Gand pour la campagne de mai de mai 2002 ; en ce qui concerne les campagnes des années

- 2003-2006, elles ont été subventionnées par le fonds de la recherche scientifique, Flandre (Belgique: FWO-Vlaanderen; références de subvention de recherche 1.5.033.03, 1.5.168.04 et 1.5.228.05; projet accordé G.0162.06N). Du côté de la Tunisie, l'Institut National du Patrimoine (INP) a pris en charge le projet financièrement et logistiquement durant toute la période de 2002 à 2006. Je voudrais remercier par la même occasion mes amis et collègues R.F. Docter, R. Guemara et M. Tahar pour avoir relu le présent texte et m'avoir communiqué leurs remarques ainsi que W. van de Put qui a accepté volontairement d'adapter aux normes de la publication les figures de cet article. Enfin, je tiens à remercier les réviseurs de cet article pour leurs remarques critiques et leurs observations.
- 3 Mezzolani 1999, 108.
 - 4 Maraoui Telmini (à paraître).
 - 5 «Ce renforcement du couloir pouvait fonctionner comme latrine», cf. Lancel 1979, 230 et fig. 82. Cette hypothèse a été plus tard rejetée par l'auteur lui-même, cf. Lancel 1982, 78.
 - 6 Lancel 1982, 118, fig. 141-142.
 - 7 Notons par ailleurs que J. Renault cite des «cabinets d'aisances» parmi les vestiges d'une maison punique, mise au jour lors de la découverte des citernes de Trik Dar-Saniat (Amilcar), mais n'en livre aucune description. Cf. Renault 1913, 22; Thuillier 1982, 79, notes 55 et 58.
 - 8 Fantar 1985, 361.
 - 9 Il s'agit de la maison du sondage 1, cf. supra.
 - 10 Cf. infra.
 - 11 Par rapport à la cadastration romaine, ce terrain est situé entre le Decumanus I sud et les cardines IX et X Est. Cf. Chelbi/Maraoui Telmini/Docter 2006a, 14, fig. 2.
 - 12 Dans la partie nord: fouilles de l'Université de Hambourg dirigées par H.G. Niemeyer. Dans la partie médiane: fouilles de l'Université de Cambridge dirigées par R. Miles. Dans la partie sud: fouille effectuée par F. Chelbi au cours de l'année 1988 avec la participation de A. Ferjaoui et de T. Redissi; fouilles de l'Université d'Amsterdam en 2000/2001 (R.F. Docter) et fouilles tuniso-belges dirigées par F. Chelbi et R.F. Docter entre 2002 et 2006.
 - 13 En ce qui concerne notamment les résultats des fouilles effectuées dans le secteur sud de Bir Massouda cf. Docter 2001; 2002; 2004; Docter/Chelbi/Maraoui Telmini 2003 et 2006; Chelbi/Maraoui Telmini/Docter 2006a et 2006b; Maraoui Telmini/Chelbi/Docter (à paraître).
 - 14 Rindelaub/Schmidt 1996; Niemeyer 1987; Niemeyer et al. 2007.
 - 15 Avec la collaboration de l'auteur de cet article (Université de Tunis).
 - 16 Cf. Chelbi/Maraoui Telmini in Docter/Chelbi/Maraoui Telmini 2003, 46-48; Chelbi/Maraoui Telmini/Docter 2006a, 15-16 et 2006b, 222-223; Docter/Chelbi/Maraoui Telmini 2006, 43-44.
 - 17 Des indices d'une activité artisanale liée à l'extraction de pourpre ont été recueillis dans les niveaux archaïques du sondage 1, consistant en une strate assez épaisse de déchets de murex. Le matériel provenant des couches archaïques dans ce sondage est en cours d'étude par Mme L. Fersi de l'INP (Tunisie).
 - 18 Chelbi/Docter/Maraoui Telmini 2006b; Maraoui Telmini et al. (à paraître).
 - 19 La mission française y a découvert des restes d'ateliers métallurgiques. Cf. notamment Lancel 1979 et 1982.
 - 20 Concernant les fouilles de l'Institut allemand de Rome dans la plaine côtière et dans la rue Ibn Chabâat cf. particulièrement Rakob 1991; 1999 et 2002.
 - 21 Cf. supra, note 13.
 - 22 Je tiens à remercier mon amie et collègue B. Bechtold qui m'a généreusement communiqué l'inventaire des contextes BM02/1228 et BM02/1229 qu'elle a dressé, base de son travail en cours de préparation, cf. Bechtold (à paraître).
 - 23 «*faeces street patina*», cf. Bechtold (à paraître).
 - 24 Cf. infra, (cat. 3: BM02/44500).
 - 25 Bartoloni 1988, 45-46 et fig. 8; Ramón 1995, 174 et fig. 19.
 - 26 Bartoloni 1988, 47, 49 et fig. 9; Ramón 1995, 175-176 et fig. 22.
 - 27 Cf. notre catalogue infra.
 - 28 Cf. notre catalogue infra.
 - 29 Concernant aussi bien la dernière période du fonctionnement des ateliers métallurgiques que celle de l'installation du nouveau quartier résidentiel dans la partie sud de Bir Massouda, cf. supra.
 - 30 La découverte de cette latrine a été annoncée dans une publication antérieure, cf. Chelbi/Docter/Maraoui Telmini in Docter et al. 2006, 47, figs. 17 et 18.
 - 31 Cette structure a été mal identifiée dans la publication préliminaire de ces fouilles, cf. Chelbi/Maraoui Telmini/Docter 2006b, 219, fig. 13.
 - 32 Cf. supra, fig. 8.
 - 33 Nous renvoyons aux mêmes données stratigraphiques en rapport avec la désaffectation des niveaux des ateliers métallurgiques et à l'installation du nouveau quartier résidentiel de Bir Massouda, cf. supra.
 - 34 Le matériel de ces contextes (BM04/7441, BM04/7442, BM04/7443, BM04/7444, BM04/7450 et BM04/7451) est en cours d'étude et fera l'objet d'une publication ultérieure par l'auteur-même.
 - 35 Dans ce travail, nous nous limitons à recenser les principales classes de céramique recueillies dans ce contexte; le contenu des latrines - déjà publié dans son intégralité - a donné lieu à une chronologie assez bien précise. Cf. Maraoui Telmini in: Docter et al. 2006, 50-62.
 - 36 1 paroi de *skyphos*, 1 fragment de paroi de lécythe, 1 lécythe trapue, 1 fragment de paroi de *net-lekythos* (décor de filet) ainsi qu'un fragment de paroi de *guttus* ou *askos*, cf. Maraoui Telmini, in: Docter et al. 2006, 51, fig. 24 et 55-56, figs. 28 à 30.
 - 37 1 fragment de bord de *skyphos* à figure rouge de production occidentale, cf. Maraoui Telmini, in Docter et al. 2006, 56, figs. 27, 28 et 29.
 - 38 Maraoui Telmini, in Docter et al. 2006, 53, fig. 25 a, b et d.
 - 39 Maraoui Telmini, in Docter et al. 2006, 60.
 - 40 La proximité de l'emplacement des latrines et de la cuisine est attestée à plusieurs reprises dans les maisons romaines de Pompéi, où 33 latrines sont aménagées dans la cuisine même et 18 sont situées près de la cuisine. Cf. Jansen 1997, 128.
 - 41 Maraoui Telmini in Docter et al. 2006, 50-62.
 - 42 Maraoui Telmini/Ryckbosch in Docter et al. 2006, 48.
 - 43 Notamment les fragments dont la chronologie remonte à la fin du 5^{ème} siècle ou au début du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.
 - 44 Cf. Docter et al. 2006, 47, fig. 16.
 - 45 Maraoui Telmini/Chelbi/Docter (à paraître).
 - 46 Cf. infra l'inventaire de la céramique de ces deux contextes.
 - 47 Maraoui Telmini/Chelbi/Docter (à paraître).
 - 48 Cf. Docter 2007, 41, figs. 3-4.
 - 49 Cf. Docter 2005, 270-272 et note 10; Docter 2007, 41, figs. 3-4; Maraoui Telmini et al. (à paraître), fig. 14.
 - 50 Docter 2005, 274; Docter et al. 2006, 66-67.
 - 51 Cf. Docter 2005, 274-75; Docter et al. 2006, 66-67. Des

- recherches concernant le secteur où les Carthaginois déposaient les déchets de leur ville à partir du 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. sont nécessaires pour compléter et vérifier cette hypothèse. Nous savons par ailleurs, qu'au cours de la première moitié du 2^{ème} siècle av. J.-C., la situation était différente sur la colline de Byrsa où les fouilles de la mission française ont démontré une élévation considérable (d'environ 65 cm en l'espace d'un demi-siècle) des niveaux des rues à cause des débris accumulés et déversés à partir des maisons, d'où l'hypothèse du recours aux services de corporations des « niveleurs » qui seraient attestées par l'inscription urbanistique punique retrouvée en bordure de l'Avenue de la République à Carthage. Cf. Thuillier 1982, 72.
- ⁵² Cette hypothèse est plus amplement discutée et étayée dans Maraoui Telmini et al. (à paraître).
- ⁵³ Cf. infra.
- ⁵⁴ Dans l'état actuel de la recherche.
- ⁵⁵ Nous saisissons cette occasion pour adresser nos vifs remerciements à Mme M. Trümper pour nous avoir communiqué ses travaux, en cours de publication, sur les latrines hellénistiques et sur les bains dans l'architecture domestique d'époque hellénistique.
- ⁵⁶ Trümper (à paraître 2).
- ⁵⁷ Trümper (à paraître 2).
- ⁵⁸ Trümper (à paraître 2).
- ⁵⁹ Rappelons la fréquence de l'usage des amphores Dresel 20 pour recueillir l'urine, au bord des rues à Pompéi, qui s'expliquerait par la robustesse et la grande capacité de ces récipients. Cf. Bouet 2009, 78.
- ⁶⁰ Bouet 2009, 76 et note 107.
- ⁶¹ Rien n'interdit néanmoins le recours simultané à ce type de structure et au pot de chambre dans la même sphère culturelle, tels à Morgantina où les latrines n'apparaissent pas dans chaque maison. Cf. Tsakirgis 1984, 384-385.
- ⁶² Le remblai recueilli dans les trois latrines, systématiquement tamisé, est en cours d'étude par Wim van Neer (Bruxelles/Louvain) pour les analyses archéozoologiques et par J.P. Pals (Amsterdam) pour les restes de végétaux.
- ⁶³ Ces valeurs renvoient au Code Munsell des couleurs des sols.
- ⁶⁴ Il s'agit d'un type retrouvé dans les contextes situés sous la maison VI, fouillée par la mission archéologique de l'Institut allemand de Rome, en association avec des céramiques du 5^{ème} et du 4^{ème} siècles av. J.-C., cf. Vegas 1999, 163 et pl. 62, n° 4.
- ⁶⁵ Cf. Vegas 1999, 108-109, fig. 9b.5, retrouvée parmi le matériel du « Fundkomplex 6 » qui a été daté de la première moitié du 6^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.
- ⁶⁶ Cf. Vegas 1999, 110-111, fig. 10.6, retrouvée parmi le matériel du « Fundkomplex 7 » qui remonte au 5^{ème} siècle av. J.-C.
- ⁶⁷ Assez proche du fragment 2145 en céramique commune peinte qui a été daté par B. Bechtold du Punique Moyen, cf. Bechtold 2007, 364, frg. 2145 et p. 365, fig. 179. En ce qui concerne ce nouveau système chronologique nous renvoyons en particulier à Bechtold/Docter (à paraître); Maraoui Telmini et al. (à paraître).
- ⁶⁸ Vegas 1999, 110-111, fig. 6.
- ⁶⁹ Nigro 2005, 314 et pl. XC, MC.04.715/21. Le fragment en question est attribué au type 137 de Motyé qui apparaît déjà parmi le matériel de la « zone A » vers la fin du 6^{ème} siècle av. J.-C., cf. Vecchio 2002, 254 et pl. 44, 1.
- ⁷⁰ Les observations concernant la pâte se réfèrent au texte original de B. Bechtold en cours de publication. Cf. Bechtold (à paraître).
- ⁷¹ Cf. Bechtold 2008, 28, table 1, A.
- ⁷² Son profil pourrait bien la rattacher aux types Bartoloni D2-D3/Ramón T-1.4.2.1 (Bartoloni 1988, 45-46 et fig. 8; Ramón 1995, 174 et fig. 19) aussi bien qu'aux types Bartoloni D4-D6/Ramón T-1.4.4.1 (Bartoloni 1988, 47, 49 et fig. 9; Ramón 1995, 175-176 et fig. 22), cf. supra.
- ⁷³ Peserico 2002, 25-26 et pl. 3. Cf. également Bechtold (à paraître).
- ⁷⁴ Peserico 2002, 26 et note 143; Chelbi 1985, 84, 86, pièces 7 et 20.
- ⁷⁵ Niemeyer et al. 2007, 339 et fig. 157, 2031.
- ⁷⁶ Niemeyer et al. 2007, 339, fragment 2031.
- ⁷⁷ Vegas 1999, 137.
- ⁷⁸ Dans les fouilles de l'Université de Hambourg faites dans la partie nord du terrain Bir Massouda, ce type de plat semble être retrouvé dans les contextes du 5^{ème} et de la première moitié du 4^{ème} siècles av. J.-C., cf. Bechtold 2007, 336-337.
- ⁷⁹ Début du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. à Tipasa et première moitié du 4^{ème} siècle av. J.-C. à Motyé, cf. Vegas 1999, 138.
- ⁸⁰ Sparkes/Talcott 1970, 373, nos 1962-63, fig. 18 et pl. 95.
- ⁸¹ Najim 1996, 67 et fig. 2a, b et d.
- ⁸² Ramón 1995, 177-178 et fig. 24.
- ⁸³ Vegas 1999, 136-137 et fig. 25, 1.
- ⁸⁴ Vegas 1999, 136-137 et fig. 25, 4.
- ⁸⁵ Peserico 2002, 53-54 et table 11, a.
- ⁸⁶ Assez proche notamment des types Morel 2233b1, Morel 2233c1 et Morel 2233i1. Cf. Morel 1982, 150 et pl. 36.
- ⁸⁷ Nous avons effectué la fouille et dressé l'inventaire de la céramique recueillie dans ce contexte en collaboration avec Mlle S. Garsallah, membre de l'équipe de Carthage, qui prépare actuellement une thèse sur les jarres puniques à pointe.
- ⁸⁸ Vegas 1999, 163 et pl. 62, n° 5.
- ⁸⁹ Cf. supra, Cat. 2, BM02/45124.
- ⁹⁰ Vegas 1999, 196-197, fig. 104, 3.
- ⁹¹ Bechtold, in Niemeyer et al. 2007.
- ⁹² Maraoui Telmini, in Docter et al. 2006, 55, fig. 26, g et 62.
- ⁹³ Bechtold, in Niemeyer et al. 2007.

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Vinum picenum and *oliva picena* Wine and Oil Presses in Central Adriatic Italy between the Late Republic and the Early Empire. Evidence and Problems

Dimitri Van Limbergen

Abstract

This paper focuses on the potential contribution of wine and olive oil production to the agrarian economy of Adriatic central Italy between the 2nd century BC and the 2nd century AD. The study area assessed in this paper includes the Marche and northern Abruzzo. The application of a global approach incorporates the analysis of the available evidence in the countryside related to the manufacturing of wine and oil, and the cross-fertilization between archaeological, textual and ceramic documentation. It discusses its associated methodological problems and seeks to determine the production scale of these food products. It also raises the question whether the integration of our sources could allow for a deeper understanding of how these productions fitted within intra and extra regional economic networks.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to highlight the role of wine and olive oil production in the agrarian economy of the Marche and northern Abruzzo during the 400-year period following the end of the Second Punic War (end 3rd century BC). The area assessed in this paper covers a territory of 11643 km². It is situated between the Apennine hills and the central Adriatic coast and is characterised by a comb-shaped geomorphologic structure in the form of a series of parallel river valleys descending towards the sea. It was mainly home to the Picenian civilisation prior to the Roman conquest in 268 BC, with the part of the Marche lying north of the Esino river corresponding to the *Ager Gallicus*, a territory that was taken from the Celtic *Senones* at the beginning of the 3rd century BC. During the Early Principate, emperor Augustus (25 BC-AD 14) made the *Picenian* territory the fifth administrative district (*Picenum*) of the *Provincia Italia*. The *Ager Gallicus* became part of the sixth *regio* (*Umbria et Ager Gallicus*).

Studies in the production and commercialisation of wine and olive oil in Late Republican and Early Imperial Italy have tended to focus mainly on the central and southern Tyrrhenian part of the peninsula, where excavations and surveys have shown that many villas were equipped with presses for the production of wine and olive oil.¹ A well-known case has been made for the relation

between the production and distribution of Dressel 1 and Dressel 2-4 wine amphorae and the political conditions and economic benefits of Gaul.² There is however a lacuna for Adriatic central Italy. This is in part the result of the nature of the archaeological record, which at first sight does not seem to feature the large villa complexes that cover the coastal areas of Campania, Latium and Etruria. It has been suggested by C. Panella and A. Tchernia that the low archaeological visibility of rural sites in the landscape of the Adriatic coast could be simply due to the use of less noble and therefore more perishable building materials in Roman times.³ The current state of research in the Marche and northern Abruzzo is another important factor. Much of our knowledge is based on surface observations and partial excavations. A complete excavation of a villa has yet to be undertaken and no full plan of a large farm building is known.⁴ Recent field surveys in the central and southern Marche have proven to be of great value for the reconstruction of rural settlement patterns on a regional level.⁵ But survey data also have their limitations. They generally offer less precise archaeological and chronological contexts and - as will become clear in the rest of this paper - recognizing physical evidence for pressing equipment can be difficult. Again, the reconstruction of Late Republican and Early Imperial economic history has greatly benefited from the integration of amphora studies. But the study of the distribution

and commercialisation of central Adriatic wine and olive oil by means of Lamboglia 2, Dressel 6A and Dressel 6B amphorae still poses many problems. While their consumption sites are relatively well known, defining their regions of origin has been less straightforward and the attribution of specific amphora types to specific amphora workshops in the Marche and northern Abruzzo is only at its beginning.⁶

This is not to say that a systematic analysis of the archaeological record and the combination of information from different sources cannot provide us with valuable insights. This paper first briefly discusses the evidence from amphora studies and literary sources, before shifting focus towards the facilities in the countryside that were needed for the actual pressing of grapes and olives. The core of this section is formed by *appendix 1*, where all archaeological contexts with the remains of pressing equipment and pressing establishments known to me are included. These contexts are first classified according to their archaeological visibility and current state of preservation. Preliminary geographic and chronological patterns are also presented in this part. The most complete press installations are then reviewed regarding the way they were systematically organised. Exact dimensions for different pieces of pressing equipment are assembled in *appendix 2*. Finally, the processes of vinification and oil-extraction are discussed through an analysis of the best documented pressing facilities. The function of specific pieces of pressing equipment in these production processes is explained and their usefulness as indicators for differentiating a wine press from an oil press is analysed.

By applying this global approach, this paper aims to determine the scale on which wine and olive oil were produced in the Marche and northern Abruzzo during the Late Republican and Early Imperial period. It also seeks to offer a discussion platform for research into how the production of these commodities was integrated in both a regional economic network as the more global Roman economy within the wider geographic and commercial frame of Italy and the Mediterranean.⁷

LITERARY AND CERAMIC EVIDENCE

'The Abundance of Old Wine' (Pol. Hist. 3.8.1)

If literary sources were the only available sources for reconstructing the agrarian economy of the region, we would conclude that wine was already being produced in large quantities during Poly-

bios' time (2nd century BC). His mentioning of *Picenum* in relation to the invasion of Hannibal (Hist. 3.8.1) and a general remark by Cato - cited by Varro (*Rust.* 2.1.7) - regarding a record harvest of 200 hl/ha in the *Ager Gallicus* form the only indications for this part of Roman Italy regarding the Late Republican economy. Although these passages indicate that wine production was obviously present during this period, specific wine nominations are lacking. This situation seems to change in Augustan and Early Imperial times. While at the beginning of the 1st century AD Strabo only cautiously praises the region around Ancona, which was 'exceedingly productive of wine and wheat' (*Geogr.* 5.4.2), a specific wine from *Picenum* is mentioned by two Greek Augustan poets in two epigrams of the Greek Anthology (*Anth. Pal.* 6.257, 9.232). Antiphrilos of Byzantium and Antipater of Thessaloniki praise the so called Ἀδριανόν νέκταρ or the *Hadrianum*, a wine that is again mentioned by Dioscorides in the middle of the 1st century AD as a neighbouring wine of the so-called Πραετυτιανός or the *Praetutianum* (*Mat. Med.* 5.6.8). The various interpretations of these passages - which hint at the favourable appreciation of this wine by the Greek elite - and the erroneous identification by Pliny (*HN* 14.67) of the *Hadrianum* as a northern Adriatic wine from the Venetian region have been amply discussed and do not require further elaboration.⁸ Pliny (*HN* 14.60, 67, 75) and Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 15.568) however were familiar with the *Praetutianum* and the origins of both wines can now be firmly placed in the southern part of *Picenum*, in the *Ager Praetutianus* and the *Ager Hadrianus* respectively. Another important wine from *Picenum*, the *Palmensia*, situated around *Firmum Picenum* (fig. 1), was also highly praised by Pliny (*HN* 14.67). The mentioning of the '*Picenum*' in Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices in 301 and the presence of the *Hadrianum* in three Egyptian papyri in the 3rd century AD hint at the continuous production and export of these Adriatic central wines after the 2nd century AD.⁹

Ancient authors seem to have been less concerned with olive oil production and Pliny does not include the region among those producing important quantities (*HN* 14.3.16). Still, Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 6.648-650), Ausonius (*Epist.* 3.1) and especially Martial (*Epigr.* 1.43.7-8, 4.46.12-13, 4.88.7, 5.78.1721, 7.53.4-5, 9.54.1, 11.52.11, 13.36.1-2) praise the region on numerous occasions for its large green olives for consumption famous for their taste among the Roman elite. A recent discovery of a batch of storage jars in Bliesbruck (Moselle) -

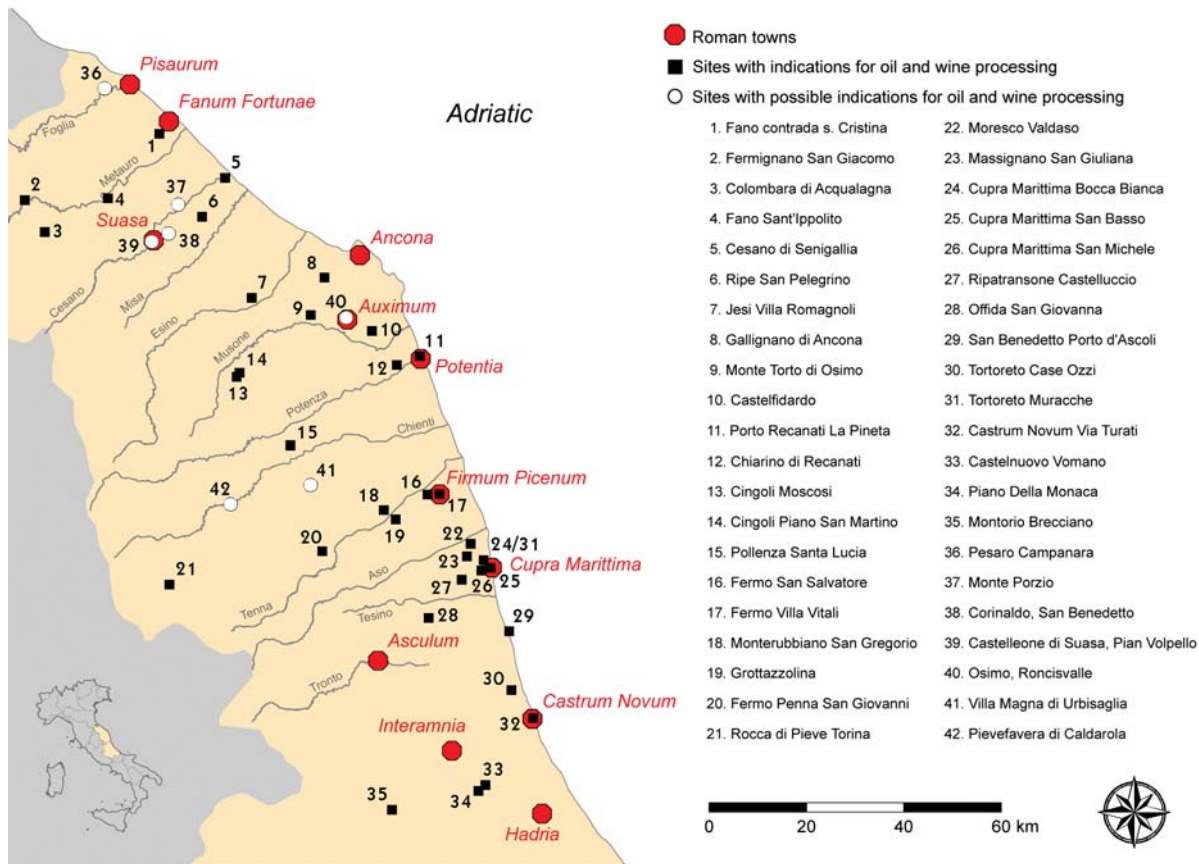


Fig. 1. Known press installations (1-35) and probable press installations (36-42) in the Marche and northern Abruzzo (map by G. Verhoeven and D. Van Limbergen).

one of them containing a *titulus pictus*, written with a brush in black ink, mentioning '*oliva picena*' - shows that these table olives were still manufactured and widely appreciated in the 3rd century AD.¹⁰ While it is possible that the inscription merely consists of a quality label or false mark, it nevertheless confirms their reputation outside Italy and provides an indication of economic contacts between central Adriatic Italy and north-eastern Gaul in the second half of the 3rd century AD.¹¹

The Wine and Oil Amphorae of the Adriatic

The arrival of the transitional Greco-Italic/Lamboglia 2 amphora type - presumably during the last quarter of the 2nd century BC (125/100-75) - and the circulation of the proper Lamboglia 2 amphora type during the first three quarters of the 1st century BC (100-50/25) are strong indications for the existence of a commercial wine trade

along the Adriatic coast in the last century of the Republic.¹² Their manufacturing in southern *Picenum* is indicated by the presence of production kilns at Torre di Palme (AP), Cologna Marina (PE) and probably also at Giulianova (TE).¹³ Further north, recent research by P. Monsieur in the valley of the river Potenza has revealed the presence of two additional amphora workshops at the sites of Potenza Picena-Casa Valentini (MC) and Colle Burchio.¹⁴ It was already suggested by A. Tchernia that the use of amphora fragments for the construction of walls at Potenza Picena - and also at *Potentia* (MC) - indicated the proximity of an amphora kiln.¹⁵

In 1969 rescue excavations on the territory of Fermo uncovered the remains of a kiln in the vicinity of a row of 56 vertically placed almost intact Lamboglia 2 amphorae immediately to the south of Torre di Palma. L. Brecciaroli Taborelli interpreted the direction of the row of empty amphorae towards the nearby beach as an indication for

these containers waiting to be loaded. The suggestion arose that they were sold on the spot and distributed to the nearby estates of landowners and wine producers through shortsea shipping along the Adriatic coast. They were then filled and redistributed.¹⁶ While this theory provokes interesting questions about the complex relation between the manufacture, the filling and the distribution of amphorae, the somewhat similar situation at Giulianova suggests that we are dealing here with a practice of reuse of these containers. The presence at Giulianova of a row of 23 almost intact Lamboglia 2 amphorae placed in vertical position - together with a very compact layer made out of amphora sherds, mixed with fragments of black gloss ware, mortar, red clay, coal and calcareous concretion - has been associated with structures used for the drainage of the area.¹⁷ Estuaries along the Adriatic coastline - like Giulianova along the Tordino river and Torre di Palme along the Fosso S. Biagio - suffered frequently from periodic inundations and a high groundwater table in Roman times, requiring the intervention of systematic drainage related features. Such features are actually rather common for northern Adriatic Italy and the Po valley, where almost intact Lamboglia 2, Dressel 6A and Dressel 6B containers were systematically reused in structures dating between the mid 1st century BC and the early 2nd century AD.¹⁸

Further to the south, between Giulianova and Roseto degli Abruzzo (PE), on the territory of the *Ager Hadrianus*, the site of Cologna Marina contained sherds of mainly Lamboglia 2 amphorae and some fragments of Dressel ante 6B amphorae. Together with Potenza Picena-Casa Valentini and Colle Burchio, these sites provide good indications for a Republican Adriatic production of wine amphorae from the end of the 2nd century BC. The Lamboglia 2 can be seen as the Adriatic equivalent of the Tyrrhenian Dressel 1, but despite a minor presence in the Western Mediterranean, the diffusion pattern of the Lamboglia 2 mainly concerns the two sides of the Adriatic shore - with special attention on the northern Dalmatian coast - the Po valley and the Eastern Mediterranean (especially Athens, Delos and Alexandria).¹⁹

Around 50-25 BC the Lamboglia 2 amphorae were replaced by the Dressel 6A amphorae. Several epigraphic sources indicate the presence of Dressel 6A production centres in the territories of *Picenum*. Several fragments stamped with the name of *L. Tarius Rufus*, one of the admirals of *Actium* and consul in 16 BC who - according to Pliny (*HN* 18.37) - wasted his fortune on estates

in *Picenum*, were discovered in Rome.²⁰ The cognomen of a certain *M. Herennius Picens* - suffect consul in 1 AD - probably refers to his place of origin, *Picenum*, and his appearance on Dressel 6A fragments places the production of these amphorae by the *Herenni* family in the region.²¹ Finally, the presence of a member of the *Salvi* family, *C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus*, at *Urbs Salvia* (MC) and the recovery of Dressel 6A fragments stamped with the name *L. SALVI* at Capodarco di Fermo (FM) and *Urbs Salvia* (MC) suggest the possible involvement of this family in the production of Dressel 6A amphorae in *Picenum*.²² The only name currently linked with a production centre is *C. IUL POLY*, associated with *BARB*, whose names have been found on Dressel 6A fragments from the kiln at Torre di Palme in *Picenum*.²³ The 'POLY'-amphorae are fairly easy recognisable and - together with the *L.T. Rufus* and *Herenni* examples - their diffusion pattern is quite similar to the Dressel 6A in general and mainly concerns the Po valley and the middle-northern Adriatic coast. Only a small number of amphorae still reached Greece, northern Africa and the Western Mediterranean.²⁴

Commercial wine trade did not cease to exist with the disappearance of the Dressel 6A around AD 25-50.²⁵ Since the discovery of the production kiln at Forlimpopoli, the so-called 'flat bottomed amphorae' had emerged as a successor to the Dressel 6A. These amphorae were mainly produced throughout the 2nd century AD and possibly already from the second half of the 1st century AD.²⁶ Their presence in *Picenum* is attested at the cemetery of *Potentia* (MC)²⁷ and around the city of *Atri*.²⁸ The production of the *Ninnia* family, whose stamps have been attested in the form of *Q. Ninnius Secundus* on 'flat bottomed amphorae' and on one Dressel 6A fragment, can probably be attributed to a border zone between *Picenum* and *Samnium*, in the *Ager Praetutianus*.²⁹

The Middle Adriatic oil container for the last century of the Republic probably was the Dressel ante 6B amphora, a type of vessel belonging to a wider series of ovoid Adriatic oil containers.³⁰ The type was produced at the site of Cologna Marina and has also been attested at the oil production plant of Cesano di Senigallia (AN), together with Lamboglia 2 fragments, and the shipwreck of Palombina, close to Ancona.³¹ Some of these amphorae bear Greek names, like *ANTIOC*, *ATHENOD*, *MENOLA* (Cesano di Senigallia) and *NICIA* (Palombina). This type probably was produced from the middle of the 1st century BC and ceased production around 30-25 BC.³²

The production area of the proper Dressel 6B olive oil amphora type between the end of the Republic and the beginning of the 3rd century AD was mainly confined to northern Italy and Istria, but the Dressel 6B 'first phase' also appears together with Dressel 6A fragments at the site of Potenza Picena-Casa Valentini in northern *Picenum*.³³ The Dressel 6B 'first phase' probably ceased production around the same time as the Dressel 6A (AD 25-50). An indication for further production of olive oil containers in Picenum only consist of the so-called amphorae '*con collo ad imbuto*', of which several fragments were found at *Potentia*.³⁴ Based on their presence in drainage related structures, these amphorae probably were produced between the middle of the 1st century AD and the 2nd century AD.³⁵

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

On a total of 820 surveyed or excavated Roman rural sites within the Marche and northern Abruzzo, 35 sites (4%) bear clear evidence of olive and/or wine production (*fig. 1*). These sites are assembled in appendices 1 and 2. It is clear that the list presented here cannot be exhaustive. It reflects the current state of research and acknowledges the fact that many sites have not yet been identified or published by scholars. These primary results are based on data collected from a variety of available sources. A regional synthesis concerning the rural occupation of the Marche appeared in 1981, offering a complete overview of all published and non published material from archives since the middle of the 19th century.³⁶ In addition, a number of journals were reviewed: *Notizie degli Scavi*, *Picus*, *Studi Maceratesi*, *Quaderni di Archeologia nelle Marche*, *Documenti dell'Abruzzo Teramano*, *Journal of Ancient Topography*, and *Papers in Italian Archaeology*. Other important publications include *Monte Torto di Osimo. L'impianto produttivo*, *La Via Flaminia nell'Ager Gallicus* and *La Salaria in Età Antica*. Complementary research consisted of the author's consultation of the archives of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici delle Marche in Ancona and his personal fieldwork on the site of Monte Torto di Osimo (AN) during the spring of 2009.³⁷

Problems of Identification and Chronology: in Search for Patterns

Field surveys and occasional excavations in the region have frequently delivered the remains of *opus spicatum* floors, storage dolia and amphorae.³⁸

While these are elements associable with press installations, they do not form conclusive evidence for their identification. Press rooms in the Marche and the province of Teramo do seem to have been consistently paved with *opus spicatum* floors, but those were probably one of the most widespread floor-types in Late Republican and Early Imperial times and were commonly used for utility spaces like storage rooms, courtyards, terraces and open areas. Dolia and amphorae are likely to be found at practically any Roman farm or villa, whether or not the latter was involved in domestic, national or international production and trade. However, quantity matters. The 12 dolia found at Grottazzolina (AP) were probably part of a wine or oil cellar.³⁹ The presence of 28 and 23 intact amphorae at Fano Contrada S. Cristina (PU)⁴⁰ and Castrum Novum Via Turati⁴¹ respectively hint at the vicinity of press installations (*chart 1, category 1*).

The presence of olive crushers, millstones and press counterweight blocks do assure the identification of a press installation, but these elements are relatively uncommon finds in the archaeological record. The situation for the Marche and northern Abruzzo is not any different. Counterweight blocks have yet to be recovered and only two complete examples of millstones are known, out of context, at Penna San Giovanni (AP) and Villa Vitali (AP) near Fermo.⁴² Both recovered millstones belong to the *mola olearia*-type rotary olive crushing mill. These cylindrical millstones were turned with the aid of a horizontal wooden lever, inserted into the central hole of the millstones and supported by a vertical wooden shaft attached to the central olive mortar, a shallow circular stone construction with a flat bottom (*fig. 2*). When the olives were crushed in these mortars, pits and pulp were separated and a sour liquid, the *amurca*, was derived.⁴³ Fragments of millstones were also found at Monte Torto di Osimo⁴⁴ and Moresco Valdaso (AP).⁴⁵ The production plant at Cesano di Senigallia also probably housed an olive mill mortar.⁴⁶ The generally poor representation of olive millstones and mortars on archaeological sites can be explained by the fact that they often proved to be useful stones that could be reworked and reused for other purposes after the abandonment of the production plant.⁴⁷

Press installations in the Marche and northern Abruzzo are generally identified by the presence of *opus spicatum* press platforms (*arae*), base blocks (*lapides pedicini*) and tanks. Due to the different circumstances in which these sites were preserved, studied and published over several decades, this ar-

chaeological evidence is fragmentary in all senses. Often, little more is confirmed than the mere presence of a press in Roman times. 35% (12/35) of all sites examined offer no architectural coherence at all, resulting in 'off-site' surface remains of mostly base blocks and occasionally millstones (*appendix I*).⁴⁸ The relatively high number of dispersed base blocks in the countryside can be explained by their removal from ancient sites in later times, due to their robustness and aptitude for construction purposes (*chart 1, category 2*).⁴⁹

Occasional research activities and small-scale excavations in the 19th and 20th century resulted in the uncovering of several isolated 'on-site' press platforms (*arae*) and tanks, whether or not connected to parts of *opus spicatum* or hydraulic mortar (*cocciopesto*) floors (*appendix 1*).⁵⁰ In this category, tanks were the features most likely to be preserved due to their subterranean character (Fermignano San Giacomo, Ripe San Pellegrino, Castelfidardo, Cingoli Moscosi, Fermo San Salvatore, Rocca di Pievetorina, Cupra Marittima Bocca Bianca, Sant'Ippolito di Fano; *figs 4, 5*); press floors are however frequently damaged by subsequent land-usage in medieval and modern times (*Potentia*, Gallignano di Ancona; *fig. 6*). Due to the use of more perishable and less noble building materials on these sites, upper structures are often largely destroyed (Ripe San Pellegrino, Castelfidardo, *Potentia*) or hardly preserved (Sant'Ippolito di Fano). This category of sites represents another 37% (13/35) of all sites examined (*chart 1, category 3*).

More extensive excavations at the sites of Colombara di Acqualagna, Cesano di Senigallia, Monte Torto di Osimo, Chiarino di Recanati, Pollenza Santa Lucia, Cupra Marittima San Basso and Tortoreto Muracche in the second half of the 20th century revealed several pieces of relatively well preserved pressing equipment, framed within a single architectural unit. These seven sites (20%) form the most complete pressing installations and therefore offer the best archaeological and chronological contexts. Unfortunately, they have not always received full scientific publication (*chart 1, category 4*).

This bias in our archaeological evidence makes it difficult to detect any geographic or chronological patterns, but some observations can be made: apart from one press found just inside or outside the city walls of *Potentia* (MC) (*fig. 1, 11*), all sites are located in the hinterlands of the Roman towns, spread out along the most important rivers in the region. With only 20% (7/35) of all sites examined lying in the northern part of the research area, the territory of the *Ager Gallicus*, the

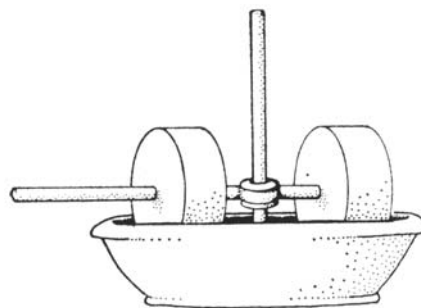


Fig. 2. Mola Olearia (after White 1975, fig. 58).

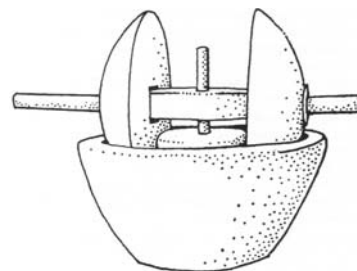


Fig. 3. Trapetum (after White 1975, fig. 56).



Fig. 4. Sant'Ippolito di Fano - tank A (AS).



Fig. 5. Sant'Ippolito di Fano - tank B (AS).

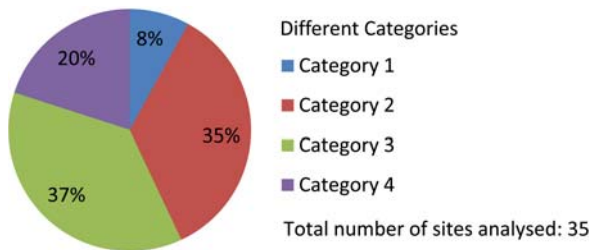


Chart 1. Classification of archaeological contexts.

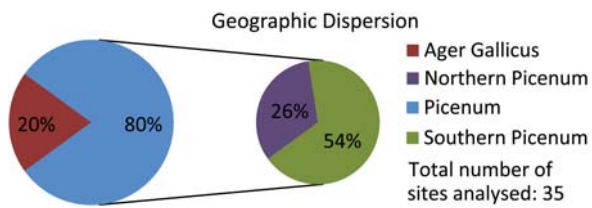


Chart 2. Geographic dispersion of production sites.

remaining 80% (28/35) are spread out over the territory of *Picenum*. Within *Picenum*, 19 of 28 sites (54% of all 35 sites) are located between the Tenna and Matrinus rivers, occupying the more southern part of the region coinciding with the territories of *Firmum Picenum* (*Ager Firmanus*), *Cupra Marittima* (*Ager Cuprensis*), *Interamnina* (*Ager Praetutianus*) and *Hadria* (*Ager Hadrianus*). In the northern part of *Picenum*, an important concentration of 9 sites (26% of all 35 sites) can be noticed in the surroundings of *Ancona*, *Auximum* and *Potentia* (fig. 1; chart 2).

For the majority of sites, the full chronology is unclear. Their chronological evolution is limited to the presumption of an active phase somewhere between the Late Republic and the Early Empire (appendix 1, $\perp$). Some observations can be made for 26% of all sites examined (9/35). Tortoreto Muracche (TE) and Fermignano San Giacomo (PU) both date back to the 2nd century BC. *Castrum Novum Via Turati* was possibly already active in the 3rd century BC. During the 1st century BC production plants were erected at Monte Torto di Osimo, Cesano di Senigallia and Cupra Marittima San Basso (AP). The 1st century AD saw the addition of two sites at *Potentia* and Offida San Giovanni (AP). Between the second half of the 1st century AD and the beginning of the 2nd century AD, all sites seem to have ceased production and many of them saw the transformation from rural establishments to graveyards. Tortoreto Muracche, Cupra Marittima San Basso and Pollenza Santa Lucia (MC) are the notable exceptions. The latter only saw the addition of a press installation

after the 2nd century AD, replacing a former residential part of the villa, and was finally abandoned in the 4th century AD.⁵¹ The pressing area of the farm building at Cupra Marittima San Basso was replaced by a small thermal complex in the 4th century AD.⁵² The production on the site of Muracche di Tortoreto continued on a substantial level into the 5th century AD (see appendix 1).

Main Characteristics and General Layout of Production Plants

Olive cultivation and viticulture played an important role in the Roman rural economy during the Late Republican and Early Imperial period. Olives could be pickled, grapes were sometimes candied, both could be consumed in fresh or dried form, but in most cases they were processed into olive oil and wine.⁵³ Many villas and farms therefore had the facilities to manufacture these products. The Catonian farm model prescribed five press installations for an olive yard of 240 *iugera* (*Agr. Orig.* 10.1) and three presses for a vineyard of 100 *iugera* (*Agr. Orig.* 11.1). Pliny only recommended two presses for a vineyard of 100 *iugera* (*HN* 18.317). For the storage and fermentation of these products, again, Cato advised a *cella olearia* of 100 *dolia* for an olive yard of 240 *iugera* (*Agr. Orig.* 10.4) and a *cella vinaria* with an annual storage capacity of 400 *cullei* for a vineyard of 100 *iugera* (*Agr. Orig.* 11.1). But this literary ideality has often been proven substantially different from the archaeological reality. While it certainly is not rare to find villas equipped with double presses in Roman Italy, multi-press plants generally remain an exception.⁵⁴ The shortcomings of our documentation should always be considered, but in the Marche and northern Abruzzo 78% (27/35) of the press rooms seem to have contained only a single press; 15% (5/35) were equipped with double presses; and 7% (2/35) showed facilities consisting of multiple presses (chart 3).

The general layout of these press rooms along the central Adriatic coast shows a certain degree of standardization. The floors could be covered with *opus spicatum* tiles (Monte Torto di Osimo, Cesano di Senigallia, Gallignano, Muracche di Tortoreto, Chiarino di Recanati, Cupra Marittima San Basso) or with a layer of hydraulic mortar (Colombara di Acqualagna, Pollenza Santa Lucia). In the latter category, the pressing area was indicated by a concentric channel cut directly into the hydraulic mortar floor (fig. 12). In most cases however, single or double - sometimes interconnecting - press platforms (*arae*) were built entirely out of



Fig. 6. Gallignano, press platform
(AS, Class. ZA 02/28).



Fig. 7. Osimo Monte Torto, press platform
(photo author).

opus spicatum tiles (figs 10, 11). These press platforms were bordered by a concentric channel - made out of *opus spicatum* tiles placed on their flat side - leading to a subsidiary channel that connected them with singular or multiple tanks (figs 6, 7). A diameter of 1.75 m is the most frequent dimension for these press platforms (chart 4; appendix 2). When in use, a stack of baskets of olive pulp or a wooden frame filled with grapes was placed on the press platform within the channel, a wooden lid was placed over it and the press beam was allowed to rest across the top.

The presence of singular base blocks in these press rooms suggests that the press beam was drawn down by a screw, with or without counterweights, a type of lever press that became widespread in Italy from the middle of the 1st century BC (Plin. HN 18.317). These base blocks were meant to contain the vertically inserted *arbores*, mostly wooden uprights that were used for the navigation of the horizontal wooden press beam (*prelum*). While the use of stone piers is occasionally attested in Roman North Africa, only wood was used for the *arbores* in Late Republican and Early Imperial Italy and therefore their reconstructions remain hypothetical. Of all 24 base blocks found in the region, 22 are characterised by a regular rectangular form with dimensions varying between 1.10 x 0.65 m (Monte Torto di Osimo) and 1.77 x 1 m (Cupra Marittima San Michele). On their flat surface they always display an arrangement of two rectangular notches measuring 0.50 x 0.30 m on average (*foramina*). The distance between them ranges from 0.30 m to 0.57 m (appendix 2; fig. 8). Construction materials vary and both the use of limestone (Monte Torto di Osimo, Tortoreto Muracche),⁵⁵ travertine (San Benedetto del Tronto

(AP)),⁵⁶ sandstone (Moresco Valdaso, Monterubbiano San Gregorio),⁵⁷ tuff stone (Offida San Giovanni)⁵⁸ and conglomerate (Ripatransone Castelluccio)⁵⁹ are attested. In general, base blocks meant for the insertion of a singular wooden upright are less common. Only two examples are known for the province of Teramo (Piano della Monaca, Tortoreto Case Ozzi). Their dimensions are smaller (0.80 x 0.60 m) and on their flat surface they display only one slightly rectangular notch (0.22 x 0.27 m, see appendix 2).

Treading floors for grapes (*calcatoria*) were found at the sites of Colombara di Acqualagna and Tortoreto Muracche. The latter consisted in a first phase of a rectangular basin (4.90 x 2.90 m), covered with a floor in *opus spicatum* and connected by means of a terracotta pipe to a tank at lower level. A second phase saw the addition of a

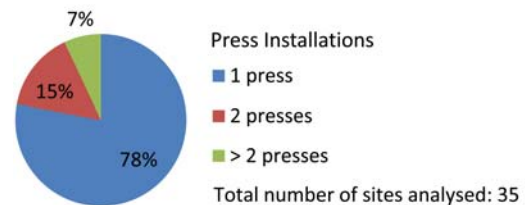


Chart 3. Number of presses per press installation.



Chart 4. Average dimensions of press floors.



Fig. 8. Monte Torto di Osimo, base block (photo author).



Fig. 9. Monte Torto di Osimo, decantation tank (photo author).

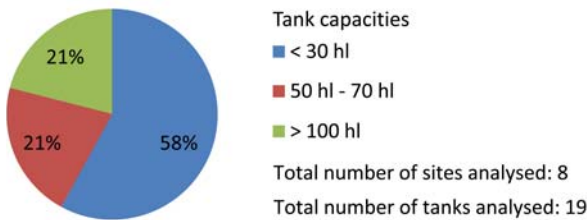


Chart 5. Tank capacities of production plants.

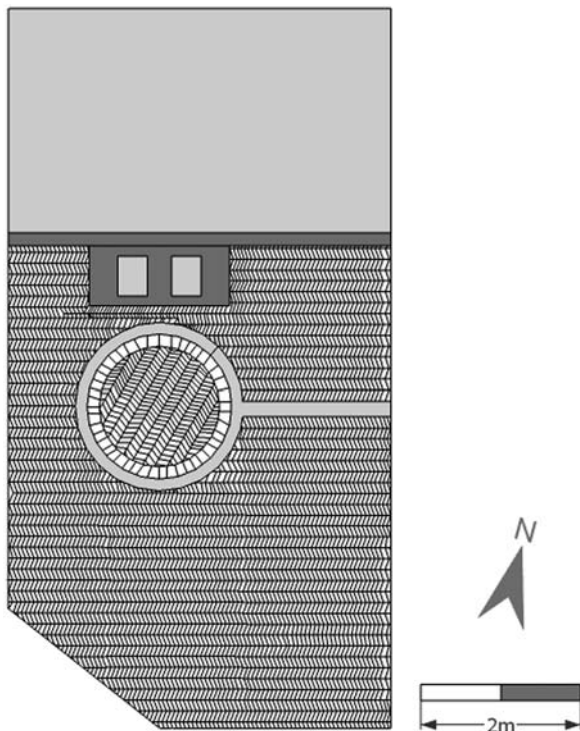


Fig. 10. Cupra Marittima, production plant (after Ciarrocchi 1999, 49).

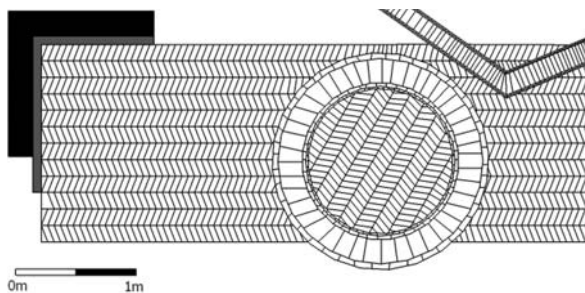


Fig. 11. Cingoli Piano San Martino, production plant (after AV,Cass 2/15).

second basin (4.90 x 3.50 m) covered with a layer of hydraulic mortar (fig. 14, B1, B2). A rectangular basin (5 x 2.5 m) covered with a sloping hydraulic mortar floor at the site of Colombara di Acquaglagna probably had a similar function (appendix 2; see infra).

A subsidiary channel carried the pressed liquid from the press platforms and the treading floors towards collecting and settling tanks. These tanks appear in different sizes and forms, but tend to be of modest dimensions. Out of 19 tanks for which information is available, 11 (58%) have a capacity between 5,5 hl and 30 hl; 4 (21%) have a capacity between 50 and 70 hl, and 4 (21%) exceed capacities of 100 hl (appendix 2; chart 5). While we cannot actually determine the true scale of production from this evidence alone, we can use these capacities for differentiating a press of a small output from a press of high productivity.⁶⁰ Tanks had to be large enough to collect the results from the pressing process. The size of those tanks so offer a ceiling for the production capacity of a press. The walls and floors of these tanks were mostly covered with a layer of hydraulic mortar or *opus signinum*

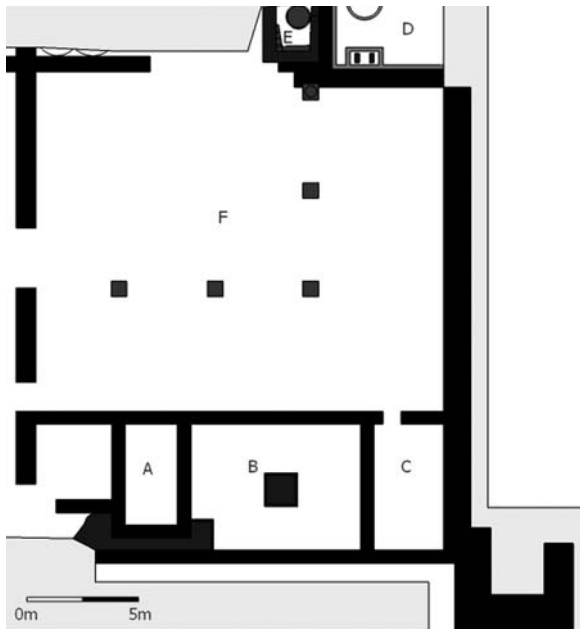


Fig. 12. Colombara di Acqualagna
(after Luni 2002, 34, fig. 6).

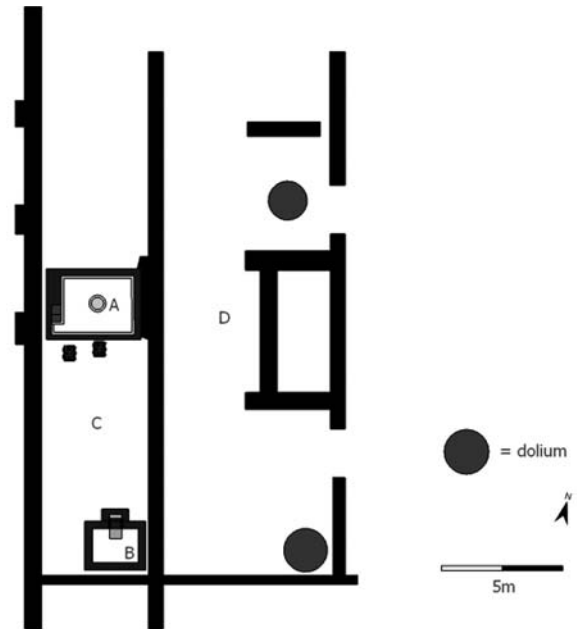


Fig. 13. Sant'Ippolito di Fano, pars rustica
(after AS).

(Tortoreto Muracche, Colombara di Acqualagna, Pollenza Santa Lucia, Fermignano San Giacomo, Monte Torto di Osimo, Sant'Ippolito di Fano; fig. 4), but floors could occasionally be made out of *opus spicatum* (Cesano di Senigallia, Monte Torto di Osimo; fig. 9), *opus reticulatum* (Cesano di Senigallia, Sant'Ippolito di Fano; fig. 5) or could simply be covered by a lead plate (Monte Torto di Osimo).

After pressing, olive oil was stored in so-called *dolia olearia* (Cat. Agr. Orig. 10.4). Wine was decanted into *dolia defossa*, large semi-buried storage and/or fermentation containers.⁶¹ Therefore, the total number of containers on a site can provide indications about the potential production level of a farm. Semi-buried *dolia* were recorded on 26% of all sites (9/35, see appendix 1), but the inequality of the available information does not allow for an accurate assessment of storage capacities. Still, important concentrations of at least seven, nine, twelve and twenty *dolia* were recorded at the sites of Muracche di Tortoreto, Sant'Ippolito di Fano, Grottazzolina and Monte Torto di Osimo respectively (appendix 1). Depending on the capacity of these vessels (5 hl or 10 hl), the minimum storage volume on these sites ranged between 35-70 hl and 100-200 hl.⁶² Such amounts of pressed liquid - stored in earthenware containers that required a substantial investment from the purchaser in the first place⁶³ - clearly transcended domestic needs and were produced with sale in

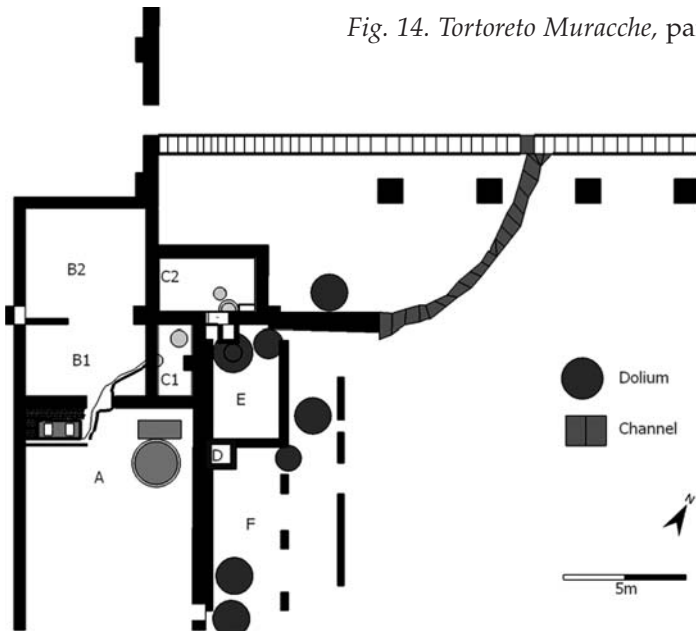
mind.⁶⁴

Due to the often superficial level of archaeological research and the impreciseness of many archaeological contexts, it is not always clear how these pressing facilities were organized within larger architectural units. Nevertheless, at Colombara di Acqualagna (fig. 11), Monte Torto di Osimo, Cesano di Senigallia (fig. 15) and Chiarino di Recanati, the press room seems to have been organized around a courtyard.⁶⁵ Living quarters were discovered at the villas of Colombara di Acqualagna, Sant'Ippolito di Fano, Pollenza Santa Lucia, Cupra Marittima San Basso and Tortoreto Muracche.⁶⁶ However, no living quarters were found in the immediate surroundings of Monte Torto di Osimo, Cesano di Senigallia and Chiarino di Recanati.⁶⁷ The poor execution of the walls at the site of Monte Torto di Osimo further indicates its purely production-orientated character.⁶⁸ It is therefore possible that these pressing facilities belonged to larger estates, with a farm building or residential villa further removed from the production plant.

Vinification and Oil-extraction on Model Sites in Picenum and the Ager Gallicus

The manufacturing of wine and olive oil on a domestic or otherwise modest scale did not automatically require complex and costly installations. There were a number of cheaper and more prim-

Fig. 14. Tortoreto Muracche, pars rustica (after Lapenna 1996, 391, fig. 343).



itive ways to produce olive oil and wine that did not require the intervention of fully equipped press installations.⁶⁹ Logically, this simpler equipment must have left only a few or no traces at all in the archaeological record and is therefore less identifiable or visible. However, the use of specialized, more permanent equipment - like stone olive crushers, treading floors for grapes and mechanical presses - was required for commercial agriculture on any substantial scale.⁷⁰

Because both processes involve the extraction of a liquid from a fruit, wine and olive oil presses tend to be somewhat identical (Cato Agr. Orig. 18-19). For 65% of all sites examined, it cannot be determined whether the uncovered features were related to the production of wine or olive oil. Press floors and base blocks appear in similar forms and dimensions on both olive oil and wine plants and do not form distinctive features. Some observations can be made through regarding the presence of wine treading floors (*calcatorium*), olive crushers (*mola olearia*) and settling and fermentation tanks associated with these installations.

Prior to pressing, grapes were crushed by human feet, a simple procedure that remained unchanged throughout Antiquity. For small-scale production, mobile treading floors - made out of wood or other perishable materials - could be used. Large-scale production, however, required the acquisition of a treading floor of a more permanent nature, often combined with a mechanical press. More pressure could thus be applied to the crushed grapes, increasing the output of the pressing.⁷¹

The Roman villa of Colombara di Acqualagna was excavated between 1995 and 1996 and delivered the remains of an Early Imperial winery, where treading and pressing was done in the same room.⁷² The heightened edges of a hydraulic mortar floor formed a rectangular basin, in which the grapes could be trodden. A concentric channel cut into the same mortar floor and the presence of a *lapis pedicinus* indicate that a mechanical press could be mounted over the floor after treading (fig. 12, D). The result of the pressing process - the *mustum*, a mixture of juice, skins and pits - was collected into a lower rectangular tank, the *lacus vinarius* (fig. 12, E).

The winery of the wealthy Late Republican villa of Tortoreto Muracche, excavated between 1988 and 1989, had separate treading and pressing facilities (fig. 14).⁷³ The rooms belonging to the *pars rustica* of the villa are all paved in *opus spicatum* and initially consisted of the actual pressing room with two presses (fig. 14, A), an upper treading floor for grapes (fig. 14, B1) and a lower tank or *lacus* (fig. 14, C1). In a second phase - possibly dating back to Julio-Claudian times - the northern wall of the treading floor (fig. 14, B1) was partially taken down and a second, larger treading floor (fig. 14, B2) was added next to it. A second, larger tank (fig. 14, C2) was also built next to the first tank (C1), communicating with the latter through a wide opening in the dividing wall. The longevity of the production plant is attested by several alterations and repairs, like repeated coverings of the floors in rooms A, B1 and B2 by a

waterproof layer. At a certain point, the communicating opening between tanks C1 and C2 was also reclosed.⁷⁴ The production plant underwent a final resizing somewhere in the 5th century, when the press room was directly connected to a new small quadrangular tank, covered with a layer of hydraulic mortar (*cocciopesto*; fig. 14, D).⁷⁵ The last phase of the site dates back to the 5th-6th century and consists of a burial, implying the complete abandonment of the villa and the ceasing of production activities.⁷⁶ The owner's wealth is illustrated by the presence of a stone decorated spout in the form of a lion's head in the first tank (C1), through which a pipe was originally inserted connecting the tank to the treading floor (B1). Decorated tanks are extremely rare in the archaeological record and only two other examples of stone spouts in the form of a lion's head in the Mediterranean come to mind.⁷⁷

Both tanks at Tortoreto Muracche (fig. 14, C1, C2) and the tank at Colombara di Acqualagna (fig. 12, E) display similar features in their lay-out. They are provided with a small staircase in one of the corners and a shallow circular depression in the floor, meant for the settling of the impurities in the *mustum*.⁷⁸ The floors, walls and stairs of these tanks were covered with a layer of hydraulic mortar. Their layout shows undeniable resemblances to identified wine tanks in Italy, Roman Gaul, Greece and Egypt and their presence - together with the *calcatoria* - ensure the identification of the production plants at Colombara di Acqualagna and Tortoreto Muracche as wineries.⁷⁹ Recently, the site of Sant'Ippolito di Fano also delivered the remains of a Late Republican villa (fig. 13).⁸⁰ The second phase of this complex - mainly production orientated - dates back to Imperial times and covered a surface of almost 5700 m². Upper structures are hardly preserved, but two remaining lower tanks (figs 4, 5; fig. 13, A-B) display similar characteristics to the ones found at Tortoreto Muracche (fig. 14, C1-C2) and Colombara di Acqualagna (fig. 12, E). The presence of a large tank - possibly of the same type as the previous ones - at the only partially excavated site of Fermignano San Giacomo tends to confirm the wine production related character of this site as well.⁸¹

In order to determine whether a press installation was specifically used for the production of olive oil, equipment for the crushing of the olives and the decantation of the oil needs to be identified. In his mentioning of the *Picenian* table olives, Martial is the only writer who actually refers to the *trapeta* of *Picenum* (*Epigr.* 13.36), a type of rotary olive crushers described by Cato (*Rust.* 20.2). The

crushing operation in the *trapetum* was essentially the same as in the *mola olearia*, but both the mortar and the millstones were hemispherical (fig. 3). All known millstones in the Marche and northern Abruzzo however are of the more practical *mola olearia*-type, mentioned by Columella in the 1st century AD (*Rust.* 12.52.6-7; see *infra*). Stone olive crushing mills were an expensive piece of equipment and the millstones had to be made by specialized stone masons. Therefore, their use was only economical if the purchaser was involved in oil processing on a substantial scale.⁸²

The sites of Monte Torto di Osimo (fig. 15) and Cesano di Senigallia (fig. 16) offer the only two examples of press installations that feature equipment relating with almost 100% certainty to the production of olive oil. Monte Torto di Osimo occupies one of the hills lying on the left bank of the Musone river between S. Maria Nuova, Filottrano and Osimo (fig. 1). The site has been subject to several excavation campaigns between 1982 and 1995 and was extensively published in 2001.⁸³ Among the six identified phases of occupation between the Late Republic and the second half of the 6th century AD, the second phase (end 1st century BC-beginning 2nd century AD) delivered the remains of two separate press rooms, each of them provided with two presses (fig. 15). They were identified as being a wine press (fig. 15, P1) and an olive oil press (fig. 15, P2). However, both rooms require further elaboration. The first press room (P1) houses two interconnecting press floors, which are connected to a system of two small rectangular tanks (D-E, 6 hl each), placed next to each other. Both dimensions and layout of this tank system - the tanks were probably interconnected through a no longer existing overlying channel - are generally attributed in the Mediterranean to olive oil presses. They do not seem to occur for wine presses.⁸⁴ Columella probably refers to this type of system when speaking of the *structile gemellar* (*Rust.* 12.52.10). Such a system of two interconnecting tanks was used for the separation of the pressed liquid into olive oil and watery lees. The separation worked on the principle of overflow decantation, with the oil floating on top of the heavier watery lees in the first tank and flowing into the second tank through the overlying channel.⁸⁵ The situation in the second press room was more complex. First, the pressed liquid from the two interconnecting press floors was collected in a system of three tanks (A, B, C). Second, two of those tanks (B and C) connected through a lead pipe at the bottom. Third, tank A and the two interconnecting tanks B and C were

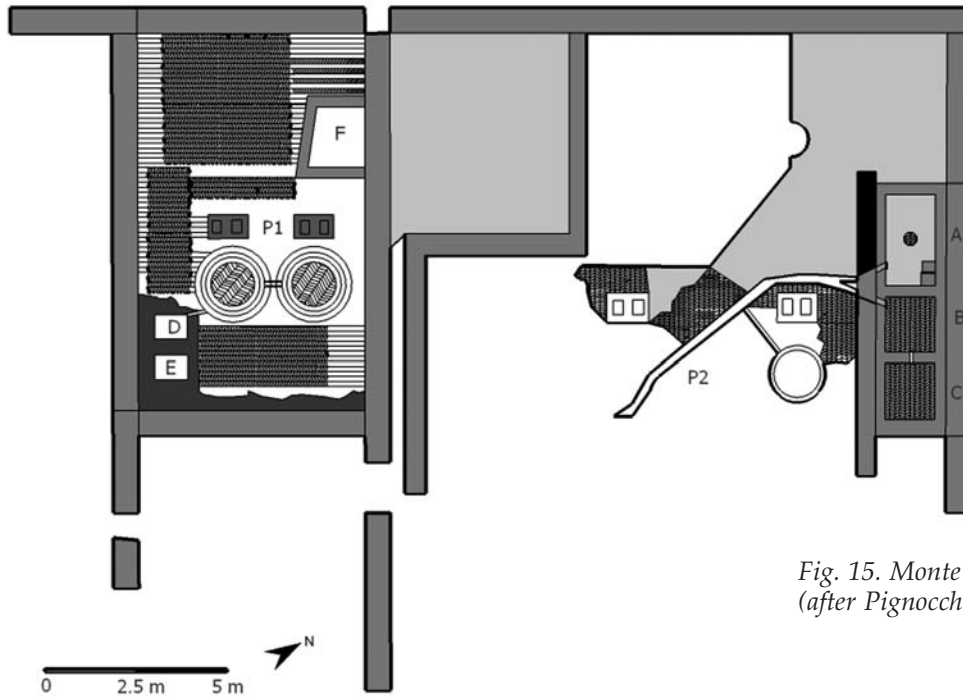


Fig. 15. Monte Torto di Osimo
(after Pignocchi 2001, 49, fig. 42).

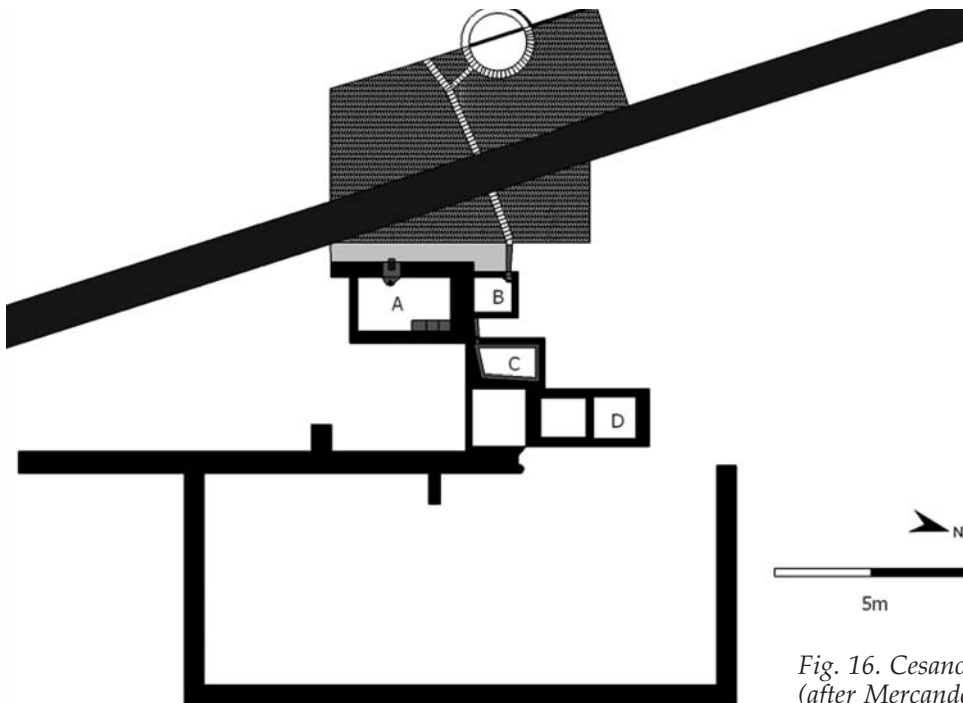


Fig. 16. Cesano di Senigallia
(after Mercado 1979, 112, fig. 22).

separately fed by a channel that split before arriving at the tanks (figs 15, 17). The separate provision of those tanks was certainly production related and a similar system was found at the villa of Tor Bella Monaca outside Rome, where it

was identified as a system to separate olive oil from the first and second pressing.⁸⁶ At Monte Torto di Osimo, tanks B and C processed the oil from a first pressing, while the larger tank A could receive the oil from a second or third pressing.

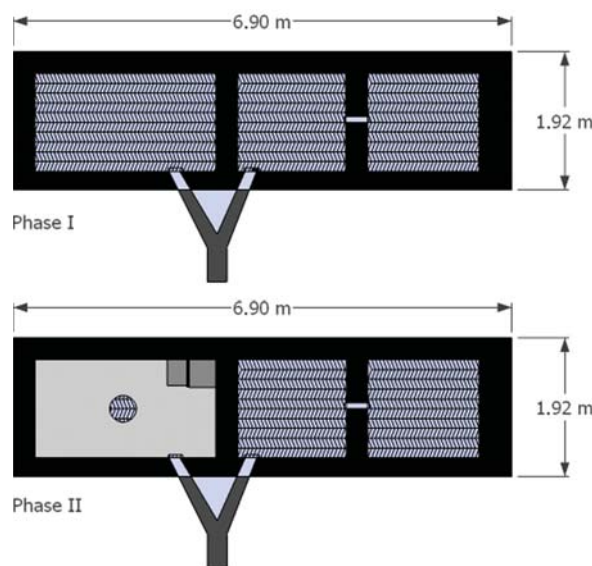


Fig. 17. Monte Torto di Osimo: phase I and II in the second press room (figure author).

The separation of oil and watery lees in tanks B and C was based on the principle of underflow decantation. The liquids were allowed to separate in tank B, with the interconnecting channel at the bottom being locked. Then, the blocking element was removed and the liquids were allowed to flow out in turn into tank C.⁸⁷

On the basis of the above observations, both press rooms at Monte Torto di Osimo were used initially for the production of olive oil. But at a still undefined moment, somewhere between the middle of the 1st century AD and the beginning of the 2nd century AD, the original *opus spicatum* floor of the second press room was recovered by a layer of hydraulic mortar. Until now, this has been interpreted as an attempt to repair the damage caused by ground fluctuations, which is typical for this part of the landscape. As can be seen on the site today, those fluctuations have indeed influenced the appearance of the site during the 2000 year period following the erection of the production unit. This however does not imply their predominance during the main occupation phase. For instance, the *opus spicatum* floor of the first press room was not touched during these alterations. At the same time of the recovering of the floor in the second press room, the original *opus spicatum* floor of tank A was recovered with a thin layer of hydraulic mortar and both a circular central depression in the floor and two stairs in one of the corners of the tank were added (fig. 17). The roughness of both the mortar layer, the stairs

and the circular depression suggest a rapid and originally unintended alteration. Tank A now featured characteristics similar to the tanks found at Tortoreto Muracche, Sant'Ippolito di Fano and Colombara di Acqualagna. These alterations could therefore point in the direction of a partial reorientation of the production plant towards wine production somewhere in the second half of the 1st century AD. The most suitable tank was simply chosen to undergo the necessary changes.

Lying on the north bank of the Cesano river, the complex of Cesano di Senigallia dates back to the 1st century BC and probably ceased production around the middle of the 1st century AD (fig. 1). A rescue excavation in 1967 revealed the presence of a press floor and a total of four tanks (fig. 16, A-B-C-D).⁸⁸ The channel connecting the press floor to one of the tanks extends further in S-W direction and implies the presence of a second press floor, situated outside the excavated area. The identification of the site as an olive oil production plant has been assured by means of chemical residue analysis of the contents of tank B.⁸⁹ Again, the separation of oil and watery lees was based on the principle of overflow decantation between tanks B and C. The interpretation of tank A however, is subject to debate. The presence of three stairs in the north-eastern corner and a central depression in the floor are features generally attested in wine collecting reservoirs (see *infra*). Our knowledge of the site is currently too fragmentary to draw definite conclusions, but tank A does not seem to be connected to a press floor or a *calcatorium*. The presence of a sandstone spout featuring an opening on the top however suggests the covering of the tank by a wooden lid and the pouring of liquid into the tank through the sandstone spout. The tank has been interpreted both as a collecting tank for the pressed oil or as a reservoir for recovering the last oil from the crushed and pressed olives.⁹⁰

INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

This cross-fertilisation between the archaeological, ceramic and textual documentation undoubtedly points in the direction of the existence of a considerable wine and olive oil production along the shores of the central Adriatic coast during the Late Republican and Early Imperial period. The relatively low press density in the Marche and northern Abruzzo hereby only reflects the current state of research. The inequality of archaeological investigations, the limitations of regional field surveys and a minority of excavated rural sites

and their fragmentary conservation all attribute to considerable gaps in the archaeological documentation. It is therefore likely that much pressing equipment has not yet been observed or recorded and that similar facilities were present at other villas and farms in this region.⁹¹

It is clear however that the archaeological evidence presented here concerns a category of farmers who were involved in production activities transcending purely subsistence levels. The acquisition of a large stone olive crushing mill, the equipment of the press room with a mechanical press, and the furnishing of a *cella vinaria* or *olearia* all required a considerable investment. Therefore, it must be stressed that the mere presence of such a professional installation suggests the production of wine and olive oil on a commercial scale.⁹² Although the priority of a large proportion of the rural population must have been domestic production, this category of farmers probably used cheaper technologies of a less permanent nature that have not survived the test of time.⁹³ Our evidence then only highlights a small portion of the total productive population.

Regional versus 'Global' Economic Network

It is not surprising that from Late Republican time onwards, large farm buildings with specialised equipment for wine and olive oil production intended for sale appear in the countryside of the Marche and northern Abruzzo. During the three centuries that followed the Roman conquest of *Picenum* and the *Ager Gallicus*, the landscape of Adriatic central Italy was fundamentally reshaped. It especially was a period characterised by Roman expansion through colonisation. During the 3rd century BC colonies were founded at *Sena Gallica* (285 BC) and *Aesis* (247 BC) in the north and at *Firmum Picenum* (264 BC) and *Hadria* and *Castrum Novum* (289-283 BC) in the south. The Second Punic War (end 3rd century BC) temporarily halted this process, but in the 2nd century BC new colonies were founded at *Auximum* (156 BC), *Potentia* and *Pisaurum* (184 BC).⁹⁴ After the Social War (91-88 BC), a new colony was founded in the southern part of *Picenum*, *Interamnina Praetuttiorum*. During the second part of the 1st century BC new foundations also occurred at *Ancona*, *Firmum Picenum*, *Asculum* and *Falerio*.⁹⁵ The appearance of these small local urban centres had a profound impact on the organisation of the rural economy. It primarily stimulated a growing market for agricultural produce and made it profitable to raise production levels substantially. The central Adriatic

landscape formed an important source of food products for these small towns, which were more likely to have relied on regional supplies than on extra regional import for their provisioning.⁹⁶

A substantial proportion of surplus production then circulated within this regional economic system - probably in part in containers made out of perishable materials⁹⁷ - and was destined for the consumption by the local urban population. But the circulation of several amphora types in the Mediterranean, produced at workshops in the Marche and northern Abruzzo, indicates that the region was evenly well integrated in the more global Roman economic system during the last century of the Republic and the 1st century of the Empire. The geographic position of *Picenum* and the *Ager Gallicus* favoured commercial contacts with both sides of the Adriatic and the Eastern Mediterranean and a large proportion of revenues from the cultivation of these tree-crops was exported outside the region.

Vinum Picenum and Oliva Picena

While it is theoretically possible that the same pressing facility was used for the production of wine and oil,⁹⁸ I have tried to distinguish wine presses from oil presses by indicating the presence of specific production process related equipment. For 12% (4/35) of all sites examined, wine production probably was the primary economic activity; 23% (8/35) probably were used in the first place for the production of oil; for 65% (23/35) of all sites the processed product could not be determined.

More than other food products, the production and consumption of wine was characterised by stratification and diversification. Following the ancient geographers, A. Tchernia distinguished three types of wine: local wines, quality wines and mass wines, each with their own production levels, consumers and distribution patterns.⁹⁹ Local wines were produced and consumed intra regionally and some of the wine pressing facilities in the Marche and northern Abruzzo certainly operated within the regional economic network, outlined above. On an extra regional level, mass wines were produced and exported in large quantities within the wider Roman economic network. Quality wines were generally transported over long distances and in relatively small amounts as luxury products. Important concentrations of presses in northern *Picenum* around the town of *Ancona* - a territory that Strabo praised for the abundance of vines - and in the *Ager Gallicus*,

where Cato had mentioned a record grape harvest for Roman Italy, suggest that in Late Republican and Early Imperial times some of these vine cultivators at least aimed at obtaining high yields. The rise of proper wine nominations in our textual sources during the time of Augustus and the first half of the 1st century AD indicates that from Early Imperial times onwards, this region also produced quality wines that were well-known with the Greek elite. There is an apparent relationship between the geographic dispersion of known pressing establishments and some of these literary sources, which mention the production of quality wines in southern *Picenum* and northern *Samnium*, in a zone between *Cupra Marittima* (AP) and *Ostia Aterna* (PE) (fig. 1).¹⁰⁰ The villa of Tortoreto Muracche, located in the *Ager Praetutianus*, forms the best known example of a large and rich estate producing wine in fairly important quantities from the beginning of the 1st century BC until the 4th/5th century AD. The widespread distribution in fairly large quantities of the *Lamboglia 2*, mainly in the eastern Mediterranean and the northern Adriatic region, and the circulation of the Dressel 6A within a regionally and quantitatively more confined pattern aimed at the Po valley and Gallia Cisalpina, show that these *Picenian* wines were consumed in various parts of the Mediterranean.

Our literary sources generally remain silent about the production of olive oil in *Picenum* and it is probable that the region was more appreciated for its excellent table olives, exported to Rome and even to north-eastern Gaul. It is however easy to underestimate the role of a product that today is essentially confined to the kitchen sphere. Its use in Antiquity was far more widespread and olive oil proved to be a primary source for lighting, hygiene, rituals and perfume or medicine preparations. Even if before the end of Antiquity olive oil never reached the high levels of the wine trade, it still was a lucrative business and olive cultivation was common to most regions of Roman Italy with a suitable climate.¹⁰¹ The site of Monte Torto di Osimo, featuring four oil presses divided between two press rooms, clearly indicates considerable oil production. Multiple press plants generally are an exception in Roman Italy and the importance of the site should not be underestimated.¹⁰² Some of this *Picenian* oil was certainly exported in Dressel ante 6B and Dressel 6B 'first phase' amphorae, but the *Picenian* cities probably provided an important local market for this tree-crop.¹⁰³

The Organisation of Production

The combination of pressing facilities and living quarters in the same building at the villas of Colombara di Acqualagna, Sant'Ippolito di Fano, Pollenza Santa Lucia, Cupra Marittima San Basso and Tortoreto Muracche suggests that - like in other regions of Roman Italy - most estates were run by owners of vines or olive groves capable of producing their own wine and oil. The processing of olives and grapes took place in press rooms that were generally equipped with a single press and sometimes with double presses (see chart 3). The capacity of oil tanks generally varied between 5.5 hl and 30 hl; that of wine tanks between 50 hl and 147 hl (appendix 2). These volumes indicate the presence of presses capable of producing quantities of liquid lying well above domestic needs.¹⁰⁴

Together with the rural installation of Cesano di Senigallia, Monte Torto di Osimo offers an example of a seemingly stand-alone olive oil production unit, without any immediate indication for a nearby farm building of residential villa. The belonging of these pressing facilities to larger estates is one possible explanation, but their presence could also presuppose the existence of press owners, unconnected to agricultural estates. Owners of olive groves who lacked the facilities to produce their own oil could let their oil be pressed against payment or simply sell their fruits to these instances.¹⁰⁵ There is epigraphic evidence for the existence of professional oil makers (*collegia capulaturum*) in various towns in central and southern Italy, but until now no presses were known in an urban context.¹⁰⁶ The press installation found at *Potentia* could however be the first installation of this type archeologically recorded for Roman Italy (fig. 1, 11).

What Happened after the 2nd Century AD?

Despite the general decline of rural estates during the 2nd century AD, growing evidence for the continuous production and export of *Picenian* food products hints at the survival of commercial farming in the following centuries. The continuous activity of the wine plant at Tortoreto Muracche until the 4th/5th century; the installation of a press with adjacent storage facilities in the former residential quarters of a villa at Pollenza Santa Lucia after the 2nd century; and the replacement of a press room at the villa of Cupra Marittima San Basso by a thermal complex only in the 4th century, are all strong indications for a continuing commercial production in the Later Empire.¹⁰⁷ Both the import of the *Hadrianum* in Egypt in the

3rd century and the export of Picenian table olives to northeastern Gaul in the 2nd and 3rd centuries show that these products were still manufactured and widely appreciated.

The aim of this paper has been to determine the role of wine and olive oil production in the agrarian economy of the Marche and northern Abruzzo during the Late Republican and Early Imperial period. This short analysis of the archaeological evidence in the countryside has shown that along the shores of the central Adriatic coast large farms and villas were indeed equipped with

professional presses for the production of these commodities. Especially in the case of olive oil, it has hinted at an organisation of production that could only be guessed at from literary and ceramic sources alone. However, it must be clear that systematic research into the agrarian economy of this region has only barely begun. This paper therefore has attempted to provide the guidelines for future research into the positioning of this area of Roman Italy as a producer and distributor of these two basic products of the Mediterranean staple diet.¹⁰⁸

APPENDICES

Legend of Press Elements

	Base block with two notches		Olive mill stone
	Base block with single notch		Dolium (storage container)
	Press platform		Intact amphora (storage container)
	Tank		Base block: dimensions of the notches
	Treading floor		Base block: distance between the notches

Appendix 1 (part 1, Ager Gallicus). Wine and olive oil production sites.

Ager Gallicus									
Location	Presses		Press elements				Dating	Bibliography	
Fano Contrada S. Cristina (PU) (1)	1					 28+	⊥	Mercando et al. 1981, nr. 31; see also Ferretti 2002, 255, scheda 126	
Fermignano San Giacomo (PU) (2)	1		 1				2 nd c. BC-1 st c. AD	Ermetti/Monacchi 1993, 79-84	
Colombara di Acquafredda (PU) (3)	1	 1	 1	 1		 2+	 1	⊥	Luni/Uttoveggio 2002, 33-34; see also AS,ZA/180/47
Fano Sant'Ippolito (PU) (4)	1		 2			 9		⊥	De Marinis 2003, 78-86
Cesano di Senigallia (AN) (5)	2		 4	 2				1 st c. BC-mid- dle 1 st c. AD	Mercando 1979a, 110-131; see also AS,ZA/45/15
Ripe San Pellegrino (AN) (6)	1		 4	 1		 3		⊥	AS
Jesi Villa Romagnola (AN) (7)	1			 1				⊥	Mercando et al. 1981, 332
Gallignano di Ancona (AN) (8)	1			1				⊥	Mercando 1979a, 111; see also AS,ZA/02/28

Appendix 1 (part 2, Picenum). Wine and olive oil production sites.

Picenum									
Location	Presses	Press elements					Dating	Bibliography	
Monte Torto di Osimo (AN) (9)	4  4	 6	 4	 1	 20+		end 1 st c. BC-beg. 2 nd c. AD	Pignocchi 2001; see also Häggglund 1995	
Castelfidardo (AN) (10)	1	 3					⊥	Mercando 1979b, 132-165	
Potentia (MC) (11)	1		 1				1 st c.-end 4 th c. AD	Mercando 1979c, 180-280	
Chiarino di Recanati (MC) (12)	2  1	 2	 2		 1		⊥	Percossi 1999, 48-49; see also Frapiccini et al. 2006, 233-310	
Cingoli Moscosi (MC) (13)	1	 1			 1		⊥	Percossi Serenelli 1998, 77-78, 102	
Cingoli Piano San Martino (MC) (14)	1		 1				⊥	Percossi Serenelli 1998, 77-78; see also AV/CASS 2/15	
Pollenza Santa Lucia (MC) (15)	1	 1	 1		 5+		after 2 nd c.-4 th c. AD	Mercando 1980, 39-41; see also Frapiccini et al. 2006, 233-310	
Fermo San Salvatore (AP) (16)	2	 3	 2				⊥	Pupilli 1994, 64-65; see also Rafaelli 1891, 197-198	
Fermo Villa Vitali (AP) (17)	1			 1			⊥	Pupilli 1994, 27	
Monterubbiano S. Gregorio (F) (18)	1  1						⊥	Pupilli 1994, 77; s. also Pasquinucci/Menchelli/Scotucci 2000, 362, no 28	
Grottazzolina (AP) (19)	1				 12		⊥	Pupilli 1994, 69-70	
Fermo Penna San Giovanni (AP) (20)	1			 1			⊥	Pupilli 1994, 48	
Rocca di Pieve Torina (MC) (21)	1	 1					⊥	Mercando et al. 1981, nr. 361	
Moresco Valdaso (AP) (22)	2  2			 1			⊥	Pupilli 1994, 78-79	
Massignano San Giuliana (AP) (23)	1  1						⊥	Ciarrocchi 1999, 75-81	
Cupra Marit. Bocca Bianca (AP) (24)	1	 1					⊥	Ciarrocchi 1999, 67-73	
Cupra Marittima S. Basso (AP) (25)	1  1	 1	 1				sec. half 1 st c. BC-4 th c. AD	Percossi Serenelli 1993, 47-70; Ciarrocchi 1999, 47-52; Frapiccini 2000, 367-369	
Cupra Marit. San Michele (AP) (26)	3  3						⊥	Ciarrocchi 1999, 53-63	
Ripatransone Castelluccio (AP) (27)	2  2						⊥	Ciarrocchi 1999, 97-99	
Offida San Giovanni (AP) (28)	1  1		 1				1 st c. AD	Pignocchi 1998, 207-218	
S. Benedetto Porto d'Ascoli (AP) (29)	1  1						⊥	Conta 1982, 416, nota 317: see also Pignocchi 1998, 210	
Tortoreto Case Ozzi (TE) (30)	1  1						⊥	Lapenna 1996, 386-396	
Tortoreto Muracche (TE) (31)	2  2	 3	 2		 7	 2	2 nd c. BC-5 th /6 th c. AD	Lapenna 1996, 386-396	
Castrum Novum Via Turati (TE) (32)	1				 23		end 3 rd /beg. 2 nd c. BC-1 st /2 nd c.	Angeletti 2006, 175-178	
Castelnuovo Vomano (TE) (33)	1  1						⊥	Staffa 1986b, 244-250	
Piano della Monaca (TE) (34)	1  1						⊥	Staffa 1986a, 167-223	
Montorio Brecciano (TE) (35)	1  1						⊥	Staffa 1991, 198-199	

Appendix 2. Dimensions of individual pieces of pressing equipment.

										
Location		m	m	m	m		m	hl		m
Colombara di Acqualagna (3)	1	1.29x0.54			1 1.75	1(E)	1.75x1.50x1.90	50	D	5x2.5
Fano Sant'Ippolito (4)						1(A)	2.90x3.90x1.30	147		
						2(B)	2x2.50x1.40	70		
Cesano di Senigallia (5)					1 1.75	1(B)	0.90x1.02x1.08	10		
						2(C)	0.99x0.88x1.66x1.52x0.99	16		
						3(A)	1.50x2.40x1.50	54		
						4(D)	1.12x1.15x0.93	12		
Ripe San Pelegrino (6)						1	2.27x1.40x0.75	24		
						2	2.45x2.20x2.20	118		
Gallignano di Ancona (8)					1 1.66					
Monte Torto di Osimo (10)	1/2	1.10x0.65	0.58x0.35	0.30	1 1.75	1(A)	1.47x2.50x1.36x2.50x0.85	29		
						2(B)	1.50x1.30x1.40x1.35x1.20	20		
	3	1.10x0.82	0.43x0.22	0.33	2 1.75	3(C)	1.54x1.30x1.50x1.26x1.20	20		
						4(D)	0.65x0.58x0.85x1.08	5.5		
	4	1.15x0.74	0.43x0.22	0.32	3 1.50	5(E)	0.65x0.90x1.15	6		
						6(F)	1.70x1.31x1.60x1.31x1.15	25		
Cingoli Piano S. Martino (15)					1 1.25					
Pollenza Santa Lucia (16)					1 1.75	1	1.60x1x1.3	21		
Cupra Marit. Bocca Bianca (24)						1	4.80x2.40x1.80	200		
Cupra Marittima San Michele (26)	1	1.77x1.04	0.54x0.30	0.40						
	2	1.75x1	0.60x0.30	0.57						
Ripatransone Castelluccio (27)	1	1.20x0.93	0.44x0.29	0.33						
	2	0.77x0.95 frg.	0.44x0.30							
Offida San Giovanni (28)	1	1.27x0.75	0.50x0.25	0.27	1 1.40					
S. Benedetto Porto d'Ascoli (29)	1	1.20x0.70x0.50								
Tortoreto Muracche (31)	1	1.75x0.75	0.50x0.37	0.30	1 1.85	1(C1)	2.90x1x1	29	B1	4.90x2.90
						2(C2)	3.85x2.80x1.20	129	B2	4.90x3.50
Piano della Monaca (34)	1	0.80x0.60	0.22x0.27							

NOTES

- ¹ Marzano 2007, 103.
- ² Tchernia 1983, 87-104.
- ³ Panella/Tchernia 1994, 145-165.
- ⁴ Verdonck/Vermeulen 2004.
- ⁵ A team from the University of Pisa operates around the Roman town of *Firmum* (Pasquinucci/Menchelli/Ciuccarelli 2005) and a team from Oxford has surveyed the upper Esino valley between 2002 and 2006 (Riva/Pearce/Pretzler 2005). Since 2000 a Belgian team of Ghent University is working in the valley of the Potenza river under the direction of Prof. Frank Vermeulen. This multi-disciplinary research project actively investigates the occupation history of the Potenza river valley within a diachronic perspective from Picene (Iron Age) to early Medieval times (ca 1000 BC-1000 AD), with a specific focus on the Roman period (Vermeulen/Boullart 2001; see also Vermeulen/Monsieur/Boullart 2002; Vermeulen et al. 2003, 2005 and 2009).
- ⁶ The study of central Adriatic amphorae of the Republican and Early Imperial times, with emphasis on the workshops in the lower Potenza valley, is currently being conducted by Dr. Patrick Monsieur (Ghent University, Potenza Valley Survey) (Monsieur et al. 2003; Vermeulen et al. 2005; Monsieur et al. 2006; Monsieur 2007; Monsieur/Verreyke 2007; Monsieur et al. 2009, 99-101).
- ⁷ This paper is part of the author's PhD research, which is being carried out within the scientific framework of the Potenza Valley Survey project (Ghent University, Department of Archaeology). It analyses the potential agricultural production of the Marche and northern Abruzzo between the 3rd century BC and the 3rd century AD and studies the changing agrarian and economic behaviour of this Mediterranean valley-landscape in relation to the defining processes of Romanisation, urbanisation and provincialism that shaped the Late Republican and Early Imperial economy.
- ⁸ Tchernia 1986, 348-349.
- ⁹ Rathbone 1983, 90-94.
- ¹⁰ Albrecht 1998, 321-328.
- ¹¹ Recently, the examination of three storage jars from the museum of Wiesbaden - located along the Reno river somewhat to the north of Bliesbruck - delivered a second jar from the end of the 2nd century/beginning of the 3rd century AD with a similar incised *titulus pictus*. This discovery suggests that the example of Bliesbruck was not an isolated case (Paci 2009).
- ¹² Cipriano/Carre 1989, 82; see also Grace 1965, note 45.
- ¹³ Brecciaroli Taborelli 1984, 55-93; see also Cipriano/Carre 1989, 80-81; Angeletti 2006, 174-181.
- ¹⁴ Vermeulen et al 2005, esp. 54-58 figs 36, 39; Monsieur et al. 2006; 2009, and also personal communication of P. Monsieur on the Casa Valentini and Colle Burchio sites.
- ¹⁵ Tchernia 1986, 54-55.
- ¹⁶ Brecciaroli Taborelli 1984, 64-66.
- ¹⁷ Angeletti 2006, 176.
- ¹⁸ Pesavento Mattioli 1998; see also Peña 2007, 182-183.
- ¹⁹ Tchernia 1986, 69-74; see also Cipriano/Carre 1989, 84-85, fig. 14.
- ²⁰ Tchernia 1986, 131; see also Purcell 1985.
- ²¹ Tchernia 1986, 192; see also Deniaux 1979.
- ²² Branchesi 2007, 238-244.
- ²³ Brecciaroli Taborelli 1984, 55-93.
- ²⁴ Cipriano/Carre, 1989, 87-88, fig. 17; see also Brecciaroli Taborelli 1984, 75-79. Examples of the BARB-POLY type were found in Rome, Ascoli Piceno, Monterubbiano (AP), Fermo, Milan, Ivrea (TO) and Vercelli.
- ²⁵ Carre 1985, 235-239.
- ²⁶ Aldini 1978; see also Panella 2001. The dating of these amphorae is based on the chronology at Ostia.
- ²⁷ Mercado 1974, 420.
- ²⁸ Cipriano/Carre 1989, 89, note 86.
- ²⁹ Carre 1985, 235-239.
- ³⁰ Carre/Pesavento Mattioli 2003, 460.
- ³¹ Cipriano/Carre 1989, 77-80 (Cologna Marina); see also Mercado 1979a, pl. 30.1, pl. 35.i, pl. 36.1, pl. 38.g (Cesani di Senigallia); Mercado 1975-1981 (Palombina).
- ³² They are mainly found in association with Lamboglia 2 types (Carre/Pesavento Mattioli 2003, 460).
- ³³ Carre/Pesavento Mattioli, 2003, 460; see also Monsieur 2009 (Potenza Picena-Casa Valentini).
- ³⁴ Mercado 1974, 232, fig. 113b; see also Mercado 1979, 184-185, 266, fig. 276; Carre/Pesavento Mattioli 2003, 468-470.
- ³⁵ Carre/Pesavento Mattioli 2003, 468.
- ³⁶ Mercado/Brecciaroli Taborelli/Paci 1981, 311-519.
- ³⁷ The author wishes to thank the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici delle Marche - and especially its functionary Dott. Maurizio Landolfi - for their openness regarding the consultation of the archives and the visit to the site of Monte Torto di Osimo. The author also wishes to thank Jonas Danckers for his much appreciated help in the field. The illustrations of the sites of Sant'Ippolito di Fano (figs 4, 5, 13), Gallignano (fig. 6), Cingoli Piano San Martino (fig. 11) and Monte Torto di Osimo (fig. 15) were all reproduced in this article with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali - Direzione Regionale per i Beni Culturali e Paesaggistici delle Marche - Soprintendenza Beni Archeologici delle Marche.
- ³⁸ Mercado/Brecciaroli Taborelli/Paci 1981, 311-519, nr. 43, 51, 71, 77, 84, 89, 99, 109, 116, 136, 160, 205, 214, 215, 223, 226, 228, 254, 265, 266, 280, 290, 371, 426, 434, 444, 453, 464, 490; see also Ferretti 2002, 213-261, nr. 46, 54, 55, 65, 70, 73, 82, 85, 88, 96, 101, 107, 121, 131. With the inclusion of these 43 sites, the total amount of sites provided with press remains would amount to 76/820, or 9,2 % of all sites examined.
- ³⁹ Pupilli 1994, 69-70.
- ⁴⁰ Ferretti 2002; 255; nr. 126.
- ⁴¹ Angeletti 2006, 174-181.
- ⁴² Pupilli 1994, 27, 48.
- ⁴³ Brun 2003, 182-183. This *amurca* could be used for a variety of purposes. The chemical composition and the anti-oxidizing character of this liquid ensured its use for insecticide purposes and it could therefore be used for the protection of grain silos and attics from parasites and insects by mixing the *amurca* with lime. It could also be used for the reinforcement of olive trees and to safeguard vines from caterpillars; the conservation of wine meant for over-sea transport, the waterproof making of olive oil jars and for medicine preparations.
- ⁴⁴ Pignocchi 2001.
- ⁴⁵ Pupilli 1994, 78-79.
- ⁴⁶ Mercado 1979, 110-131.
- ⁴⁷ Mattingly 1993, 494; see also Foxhall 2007, 146, 172.
- ⁴⁸ A total of 14 base blocks was recovered from 10 sites (see appendix I, sites 18, 22, 23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 33-35.). Two complete millstones and one fragment of a millstone were recovered from 3 sites (see appendix I, sites 17, 20, 22).
- ⁴⁹ Foxhall 2007, 146, 172-176. One of two base blocks at the

- site of Chiarino di Recanati was broken out of the *opus spicatum* floor of the press room (Percossi Serenelli 1999, 48-49, see *appendix I*, 12). The base block of another press was reused in the church of Santa Maria a Brecciano as a supporting block for a small pillar, situated to the left of the ciborium (Staffa 1991, 198-199, see *appendix I*, 35). One of two base blocks found at the site of Ripatransone Castelluccio was cut in half for purposes of reuse (Ciarocchi 1999, 97-99, see *appendix I*, 27).
- ⁵⁰ See *appendix I*, sites 2, 4, 6-8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 21, 24, 28.
- ⁵¹ Frapiccini et al. 2006, 233-310.
- ⁵² Verdonck/Vermeulen 2004, 187.
- ⁵³ Curtis 2008, 379; see also Brun 2003, 48-49, 144-145; Foxhall 2007, 90-91, 134.
- ⁵⁴ Marzano 2007, 104-105.
- ⁵⁵ Pignocchi 2001; see also Lapenna 1996, 386-396.
- ⁵⁶ Conta 1982, 416, nota 317.
- ⁵⁷ Pupilli 1994, 77-79.
- ⁵⁸ Pignocchi 1998, 207-218.
- ⁵⁹ Ciarocchi 1999, 97-99.
- ⁶⁰ Mattingly 1993, 493.
- ⁶¹ Brun 2003, 65.
- ⁶² Mattingly 1993, 494. According to J.P. Brun, the average capacity of a *dolium* in Roman Italy was 11 hl (Brun 2003, 65).
- ⁶³ Peña 2007, 28, 46.
- ⁶⁴ Foxhall 2007, 81. Based on the use as a food product alone, D.J. Mattingly estimated the annual consumption of olive oil for one person around 0.25 hl (Mattingly 1988a, 34). By adding hygiene, lighting and medicines to the range of personal consumption needs, J.P. Brun estimated the total annual consumption of oil per person around 0.5 hl (Brun 2003, 169). L. Foxhall estimated the total oil consumption of an Athenian household - including oil for food, bathing and lighting - around 2 to 3.3 hl per year (Foxhall 2007, 86). According to A. Tchernia, the annual wine consumption per person in Late Republican and Early Imperial Rome varied between 1.4 hl and 1.8 hl (Tchernia 1986, 26).
- ⁶⁵ Luni/Uttoveggio 2002, 21-67; see also Pignocchi 2001, 41; Mercado 1979a, 115; Percossi Serenelli 1999, 48. For a preliminary overview, see also Pesavento Mattioli/Carre 2009.
- ⁶⁶ Luni/Uttoveggio 2002, 21-67; see also De Marinis 2003, 78-86; Mercado 1980, 31-53; Percossi Serenelli 1993, 47-70; Lapenna 1996, 386-396.
- ⁶⁷ Pignocchi 2001 (Monte Torto di Osimo); see also Mercado 1979a, 110-131 (Cesano di Senigallia); Percossi Serenelli 1999, 48-49 (Chiarino di Recanati).
- ⁶⁸ Pignocchi 2001; see also Verdonck/Vermeulen 2004, 175.
- ⁶⁹ Amouretti 1986, 158-162; see also Brun 1986, 45; Foxhall 2007, 132, 178-181; Rossiter 1981, 348.
- ⁷⁰ Foxhall 2007, 176-177; see also Rossiter 1981, 348.
- ⁷¹ Curtis 2001, 227-233.
- ⁷² Luni/Uttoveggio 2002, 21-67.
- ⁷³ Lapenna 1996, 386-396.
- ⁷⁴ Lapenna 1996, 394.
- ⁷⁵ Lapenna 1996, 394-395.
- ⁷⁶ Lapenna 1996, 395.
- ⁷⁷ These concern the villa of Val Catena in Istria and the wine presses at Lake Mareotis in Alexandria. Brun 2004, 53; see also Empereur 1993, 39-47.
- ⁷⁸ Rossiter 1981, 351-352; see also Brun 2003, 63.
- ⁷⁹ Examples in Roman Gaul have been found at the vicus of Pignans (Brun 2005, 16-17); the villa of Mayran Saint-Victoir-La-Coste (Brun 2005, 33); the villa of Pardigon (Brun 2005, 39); the villa of Saint Martin Tardeau (Brun 2005, 42-45) and the villa of Belmont-Royan (Brun 2005, 111). For Roman Italy, the most useful comparisons are the villa of Colombara di Acqualagna (Luni/Uttoveggio 2002, 33-34) and the site of Pescara di Spoltore in the province of Pescara (Staffa 2005, 70). Several large-scale wine presses at Lake Mareotis in Alexandria show a very similar lay-out (Empereur 1993, 39-47) and also examples from Greece are known in Patras (Brun 2004, 76).
- ⁸⁰ De Marinis 2003, 78-86; see also De Marinis 2006. The author would like to express his gratitude to Dott. Gabriele Baldelli of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici delle Marche for his friendly cooperation and professional openness regarding the archaeological site of Sant'Ippolito di Fano (Piandirose). He is grateful for the possibility to reproduce two previously unpublished illustrations from the excavation report, that he was able to consult at the Soprintendenza in Ancona. The site of Sant'Ippolito di Fano, excavated by Baldelli in 2001, awaits full publication by the Soprintendenza and a material study is being prepared by the responsible archaeologists.
- ⁸¹ Ermetti/Monacchi 1993, 79-94.
- ⁸² Foxhall 2007, 178-179.
- ⁸³ Pignocchi 2001.
- ⁸⁴ A similar system was used for the olive oil presses in the villa of Settefinestre, located in the *Ager Cosanus* (Carandini 1985), and the villa of Posta Crusta in Apulia (Brun 2004, 29). There are also numerous examples known of this type of olive oil press in the limestone hills of Late Roman Northern Syria: Sarfud, Kafr Nabo (Callot 1984, pl. 120, 123), Dêhès, El Bara (Tate 1992, fig. 81, 278) and Taqlé (Brun 2004, 120, 120) to name only a few.
- ⁸⁵ Examples of two adjoining tanks at the sites of Castelfidardo (Mercado 1979b, 132-165) and Fermo-San Salvatore (Pupilli 1994, 64-65) could have served a similar purpose.
- ⁸⁶ Smith/Widrig 1981, 99-114; see also Widrig 1980, 119-140; Brun 2004, 10-11.
- ⁸⁷ This system was also used in Aegean pre-industrial installations (Forbes/Foxhall 1978, 39; see also Foxhall 2007, 138).
- ⁸⁸ Mercado 1979a, 110-131.
- ⁸⁹ Mercado 1979a, 112, 32.
- ⁹⁰ Mercado 1979a, 113; see also Brun 2004, 36.
- ⁹¹ Further consultation of the archives of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici delle Marche at Ancona could confirm the presence of pressing facilities at the sites of Pesaro Campanara, Monte Porzio, Corinaldo-San Benedetto, Castelleone di Suasa-Pian Volpello, Osimo-Roncisvalle and Pievafavera di Caldarola (see *fig. 1*, sites 36-40, 42). On-going excavations of the University of Macerata (Marche, Italy) in the territory of the Roman town of *Urbs Salvia* (today Urbisaglia) have uncovered the remains of a large Roman villa at the site of Villa Magna (see *fig. 1*, site 41). Interesting results are therefore to be expected in the following years (Quiri 2002; 2005).
- ⁹² Mattingly 1988b, 157.
- ⁹³ Foxhall 2007, 251.
- ⁹⁴ See Delplace 1993, 11-14 for a full discussion; see also Angeletti 2006, 174.
- ⁹⁵ Also important in the same period is the assignation of land to veterans from the armies of Caesar, Mark Anthony and Augustus within the territories of several urban centres in *Picenum*. See Delplace 1993, 60-68 for a full discussion of the available evidence.

- ⁹⁶ For a theoretic model, see Hopkins 1980, 101-102; for archaeological evidence from the Liri valley, see Wightman/Hayes 1994.
- ⁹⁷ For a discussion concerning the use of skins (*cullei/utres*) and barrels (*cupae*) for the transport of wine and oil produced in the hinterland of Rome, see De Sena 2005.
- ⁹⁸ The harvest times for grapes and olives do not coincide (Marzano 2007, 106).
- ⁹⁹ Tchernia 1986, 37-39; see also Brun 2003, 98-99.
- ¹⁰⁰ While the *Matrinus* river has been chosen as the most southern limit of our research area, remains of presses do occur further south along the Adriatic coast, situated in the province of Pescara: Loreto Aprutino-Fidrano Basso (Pellegrini 2003, 326); Loreto Aprutino-Colle Fiorano (Pellegrini 2003, 326); Nocciano, loc. Casali-Follonica (Staffa 2003, 140); Pianella, loc. Conoscapane-Piano Leone (Staffa 2003, 136); Elice, loc. S. Agnello (Staffa 2005, 69-70); Spoltore, loc. Pescarina (Staffa 2005, 70-71); Penne, loc. S. Angelo-Case Almonti (Staffa 2005, 84).
- ¹⁰¹ Although olive trees are confined to the plains and lower slopes of mountains (Morley 1996, 145).
- ¹⁰² The villa of Granaraccio near Tivoli was equipped with four oil presses and a villa near Cosa featured at least four wine presses (Marzano 2007, 104-105). The villa of Settefinestre had three wine presses (Carandini 1985; see also Marzano 2007, 106).
- ¹⁰³ The distribution patterns of both the Dressel ante 6B and the Dressel 6B are restricted. Both amphora types circulated in northern Italy (Gallia Cisalpina), but outside Italy fragments of Dressel ante 6B amphorae were only found in the Magdalensberg (Manacorda 1994). Dressel 6B amphorae are mainly attested in the provinces of *Noricum* and *Pannonia*, with smaller concentrations found in *Dalmatia* and *Rhaetia* and a few examples attested in Rome (Carre 1985, 221).
- ¹⁰⁴ Foxhall 2007, 138; see also Mattingly 1993, 493. The wine tanks at Sant'Ippolito di Fano (147 hl) and Tortoreto Muracche (129 hl) currently are the largest known wine tanks in the region. The tank at Cupra Marittima Bocca Bianca does have a capacity of 200 hl, but its use as a press reservoir is uncertain. The wine tank of the villa of Settefinestre had a capacity of 210 hl (Carandini 1985).
- ¹⁰⁵ A similar explanation has been suggested to assess the complex social reality behind the production of Baetican olive oil (Rodriguez 1998, 188).
- ¹⁰⁶ Marzano 2007, 103; see also Brun 2004, 8.
- ¹⁰⁷ Pollenza Santa Lucia seems to belong to a category of Roman villas in central Italy that - rather than being abandoned - saw the transformation from aristocratic residences to rural establishments during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD (Marzano 2007, 200-222).
- ¹⁰⁸ The author wishes to thank Prof. F. Vermeulen for commenting on an earlier draft of this paper and Dr. P. Monsieur for his continuous helpful criticism and advice. The author also wishes to thank G. Verhoeven for digitizing the map. The author is very grateful to the Fondazione Jean Jacobs and the Academia Belgica in Rome for two study grants, that made the research on which this paper is based possible.
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Monumentum Augusti

Das sogenannte Columbarium der Freigelassenen des Augustus

Helke Kammerer-Grothaus

Zusammenfassung

Als Monumentum Augusti wird hier ein großes Columbarium zwischen der 2. und 3. Meile der via Appia Antica besprochen, das gemäß der vox populi als das der Freigelassenen und Sklaven des Augustus bezeichnet wird. Es existieren keine Inschriften, die diese Vermutung stützen. Der Mangel an Funden führte bereits im 18. Jahrhundert zu Verwechslungen mit dem ehemals nahegelegenen inschriftenreichen Monumentum Liviae, das heute nicht mehr existiert. Besprochen werden die hypothetischen Rekonstruktionen und Ansichten der Neuzeit von G.B. Montano, G.B. Piranesi, J. Barbault, A. Uggeri, L. Labruzzi und L. Canina.

Die Größe des Monuments und die Lage an der Konsularstraße machen das Kaiserhaus als Auftraggeber sehr wahrscheinlich, besonders die Tatsache, dass der Bau kein Hypogaeum besitzt, worauf ein privater Bauherr oder eine Begräbnisgesellschaft auf keinen Fall verzichtet hätte. Für den repräsentativen, funktional aber viel stärker als beispielsweise das Monumentum Liviae orientierten Grabbau wird eine Datierung in die Spätzeit des Tiberius um 30 n.Chr. vorgeschlagen.*

Gegenstand dieser Untersuchung ist das Monumentum Augusti zwischen der 2. und 3. Meile der via Appia Antica, das ohne stichhaltige Gründe im Volksmund als Columbarium der Freigelassenen des Augustus genannt wird (Abb. 1). Dieser monumentale Grabbau stand stets im Schatten des ehemals benachbarten, aber heute völlig verschwundenen Monumentum Liviae, das durch drei zeitgenössische Grabungspublikationen aus der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts sehr berühmt wurde.¹

Das erneute Interesse an stadtrömischen Columbarien in den Veröffentlichungen der letzten Jahre² bot den Anlass, sich mit diesem häufig abgebildeten, aber kaum bekannten Monument zu beschäftigen, den Quellen gemäß dem neusten Literaturstand³ nachzugehen, die Rekonstruktionsversuche des 16.-19. Jahrhunderts und den Baubefund zu interpretieren durch eine Mess-Skizze, einen darauf beruhenden Rekonstruktionsvorschlag zu ergänzen.⁴

ZUR COLUMBARIENBESTATTUNG

Die frühesten Columbarien entstanden nach der Mitte des 1. Jahrhunderts v.Chr.⁵ Sie stellen eine besondere Bestattungsform zwischen Verbrennung und Körperbestattung im Suburbium Stadtroms und eine grundsätzliche Umorientierung der Bestattungskultur von aufwendigen Einzelmonu-

menten und anonymen großen Gräberfeldern (*sepulture collettive*) zu monumentalen Gemeinschaftsbegräbnissen dar. Initiatoren scheinen zunächst Privatleute und Freigelassene gewesen zu sein. Die äußere Erscheinung war vor allem bei den einräumigen Kammern sehr schlicht. Vornehme Familien, Berufsverbände (*collegia*) oder andere Gruppen⁶ konnten ein großes Monument durch den Verkauf von Grabstellen ermöglichen und

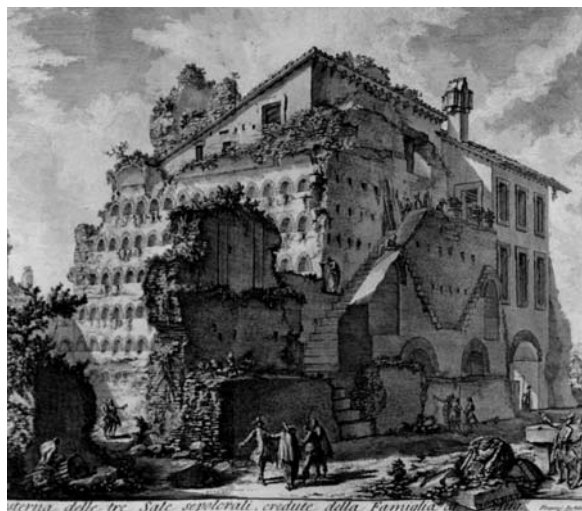


Abb. 1. Monumentum Augusti. Vedute von G.B. Piranesi, 1756, Taf. 41 (Inst. Neg. DAI Rom 95.1010).

sicherten in diesem Rahmen weniger bemittelten Einwohnern der Stadt eine dauerhafte Pflege des Begräbnisplatzes. Ein weiterer Vorzug dieser Bestattungsart bot sich den Angehörigen bei der Vorbereitung des Leichnams auf die Einäscherung und das *ustrinum*.⁷

Die großen Anlagen des Kaiserhauses oder der senatorischen Familien waren mit Mosaiken, Stuck und Wandmalerei geschmückte repräsentative Prunkräume. Breite Wandsimse oder balkonartige Galerien gliederten gelegentlich die hohen Wände und boten die Möglichkeit, die obersten Nischenreihen zu erreichen. Die Nischen oder Loculi waren folgerichtig meist durch Inschriften mit den Namen der Verstorbenen auf Marmortäfelchen (*tabulae*) oder Gravuren auf farbig bemalten Feldern gekennzeichnet und konnten bei Bedarf durch marmorne Verschlussplatten, Porträts, Marmorurnen oder Grabaltäre individuell gestaltet werden. Diese Bauform der frühen Kaiserzeit stellte jedoch eine grundlegende Abkehr von der bisherigen Praxis dar, wonach Vornehme exklusive Gräber erhielten, der größte Teil der Bevölkerung jedoch in *puticuli* beigesetzt wurde. Bekannt ist ein solcher Grabbezirk (8.-1. Jahrhundert v.Chr.) außerhalb der servianischen Mauer auf dem Esquilin, dessen Topographie wegen unterschiedlich lokalisierter *puticuli* (Varro, *ling.* 5.25) nicht klar zu identifizieren ist. Die ausgedehnten Nekropolen wurden in augusteischer Zeit (zwischen 42 und 35 v.Chr.) geschlossen⁸ und von Maecenas in einen Park mit Wohnbebauung (vgl. Auditorium, um 40 v.Chr.) umgestaltet (Horaz, *sat.* 8.1-22). Solche Sammelfriedhöfe gab es gewiss nicht nur auf dem Esquilin und sind für weite Flächen des Suburbium im Abseits der Konsularstraßen anzunehmen.⁹ Die monotone Abfolge der Loculi-Reihen wie beispielsweise im großen Columbarium in der Villa Doria Pamphilj mit seinen malerischen Friesen¹⁰ oder den Monumenten der Vigna Codini¹¹ schließen an eine spätrepublikanische Tradition und Vorstellungswelt an, nach der alle Verstorbenen im Tode gleich sind. Das augusteische Verbot der *puticuli* förderte die Entwicklung des Columbarientyps. Das würde die auffällig gleichförmige Gestaltung der Columbarien der Frühzeit begründen und das Bemühen der großen 'Haushalte', ihren Angehörigen eine würdige Bestattung zu Teil werden zu lassen. Dass sich diese Entwicklung verselbstständigte, ist erklärlich. In wahrscheinlich geringer zeitlicher Distanz von den spätrepublikanischen Formen weisen die monumentalen Columbarien des Kaiserhauses selbst auf eine forcierte Entwicklung in der frühen Kaiserzeit hin. Dieser bisher nicht durchgängig beobachtete Wechsel

von der demokratischen Reihung zu architektonisch betonten Haupt- und Nebenbestattungen, die bis in das 3. Jahrhundert n.Chr. durch Inhumationen und Sarkophagbestattungen genutzt wurden, ist eventuell ein Indiz dafür, wie stark sich ein hierarchisches Gedankenmodell in der Zeit des Prinzipats durchsetzen konnte, aber auch für die augusteische Neuordnung, nach der die Stadt der Toten wie die der Lebenden gestaltet werden sollte. Seit dem ausgehenden 1. Jahrhundert n.Chr. finden sich in den Columbarien sowohl nachträglich eingetiefte als auch bereits bei der Errichtung des Grabbaus geplante *fossae*.

Bemerkungen zum Monumentum Liviae, ehemals Vigna Benci/Am[m]endola

Ridolfino Venuti, der Vorgänger Winckelmanns im Amt des päpstlichen Antiquars, vermerkte 1763 zu der von Francesco Bianchini (1662-1729) seit 1725 freigelegten (1728 erforschte Kardinal M. von Polignac den anschließenden kleineren Anbau, Publikation von P.L. Ghezzi) und bald darauf wieder zerstörten Grabanlage kaiserlicher Liberti an der Via Appia Antica: 'In einem anderen Weinberg [also hatte er schon andere untersucht] befand sich die schöne Grabanlage der Freigelassenen der Livia (58 v.-29 n. Chr.), Gemahlin des Augustus.'¹²

Der Veroneser Antiquar und Archäologe Bianchini wurde schon vor den von ihm beobachteten Ausgrabungen an der Via Appia von Papst Clemens XI. mit archäologischen Projekten betraut - darunter zwischen 1720 und 1724 mit der Untersuchung der Kaiserpaläste auf dem Palatin.¹³ Venuti beklagte bereits Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts die fundorientierten Ausgrabungsmethoden,¹⁴ die unter anderen bereits Kardinal Alessandro Farnese bei seinen Ausgrabungen in den Caracalla-Thermen praktizierte¹⁵ und die barbarischen Zerstörungen beispielsweise im Bereich der Basilika S. Sebastiano hinterlassen hatten. Lobend hebt Venuti hingegen hervor, dass der Komplex der Liberti der Livia Augusta vor der Zerstörung wenigstens sehr gut dokumentiert wurde: 'Non può rivolgersi senza orrore alle memorie de' scavi. Quelle antiche rovine, che il tempo teneva nascoste nelle viscere della terra veggono appena la luce, che sono diroccate dalla avarizia. Nella barbarie ebbero per sorte i sepolcri de' Liberti di Livia, giacchè almeno prima di essere distrutti furono per così dire eternati in tante replicate incisioni.'¹⁶

Die rasche Folge der Publikationen zu dem *Monumentum Liviae* (Gori 1727, Bianchini 1727, Ghezzi 1731) als Echo auf die Ausgrabungen zwischen November 1725 und 1728 wirft auch ein

interessantes Licht auf den römischen Buchmarkt in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts. Die gelehrten Antiquare unternahmen geradezu einen Wettlauf, um sich einerseits dem Publikum durch immer neue Entdeckungen zu empfehlen, andererseits aber auch, um den Ehrgeiz ihrer fürstlichen Auftraggeber zu befriedigen. Deren Motivation und Sammeleifer entsprang weniger einer wissenschaftlichen Neugier als ihrem Repräsentationsbedürfnis, wobei Interesse an Repräsentation oder auch einer bestimmten Ideologie und Programmatik und die Freude an Kunst und Wissenschaft einander nicht grundsätzlich ausschließen.¹⁷

Ein weitaus älteres Beispiel für eine seriöse zeitgenössische Dokumentation bietet die 1674 ausgegrabene unterirdische Grabanlage der Nasonier an der Via Flaminia, die bereits 1682 von P.S. Bartoli und G.P. Bellori, dem Herausgeber der *Forma Urbis Romae*, veröffentlicht wurde.¹⁸ Dabei ist zu beachten, dass im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert die Maßstäblichkeit der Architekturzeichnungen von der Größe des Objekts und der zur Verfügung stehenden Blattgröße abhängig waren. Die Praxis, Baupläne in genormtem Maßstab anzulegen, entwickelte sich erst im 19. Jahrhundert.¹⁹

Das 'Columbario dei liberti di Livia Augusta' wurde unter der Leitung von Francesco Bianchini in der Vigna des Giuseppe Benci von dem Grabungsarbeiter Giovanni di Angulo Spagnuolo und weiteren Gehilfen vollständig freigelegt.²⁰ Der Grundriss der Hauptkammer zeigt einen rechteckigen Raum mit Apsidialnischen an allen vier Seiten, an den Längswänden flankiert durch je zwei Rechtecknischen (10.66 x 6.22 m). Insofern ähnelt der Grundriss dem klassischen Aufbau des Nasoniergrabes an der Via Flaminia,²¹ der auf hellenistische Vorbilder zurückgreift, die auch die Thermenarchitektur inspirierten.²² Trotz der zeitlichen Differenz beider Monumente ist die ungewöhnliche Grundrissgestaltung ein Hinweis darauf, dass aus Gründen der Repräsentation in der Grabarchitektur gelegentlich auf andersartig motivierte Bauformen zurückgegriffen wird.

Das Columbarium in der Vigna Benci ist bis heute immer wieder Gegenstand der archäologischen Forschung; der nah gelegene zweite große Komplex - die heutige Trattoria dei Liberti, neuerdings Hostaria Antica Roma - wurde dagegen, wie bereits erwähnt, bisher wissenschaftlich kaum beachtet. Beide Columbarien werden häufig in einem Atemzug genannt und gelegentlich verwechselt.²³ Die Erwähnungen gerade des letzteren sind meist summarisch und beschränken sich auf die Wiederholungen in der Literatur.

Zur Topographie des Monumentum Augusti, ehemals Vigna Vagnolini

Das hier in Rede stehende zweite große frühkaiserzeitliche Columbarium zwischen der zweiten und der dritten Meile der via Appia gilt als das der Sklaven und Freigelassenen des Augustus.²⁴ Es befindet sich weniger als 300 m vor dem heute nicht mehr existierenden und topographisch nicht mehr zu verortenden *Monumentum Liviae* entfernt stadteinwärts auf der linken Seite der via Appia (beobachtet von dem Standpunkt des Besuchers, der die Konsularstrasse von Rom aus betritt) nahe der Abzweigung der via della Caffarella hinter der kleinen Kirche Domine quo vadis in der Vigna Vagnolini/ehemals Colonna, heute Ciampelletti, Via Appia, no. 16. Das Monument ist am Straßenverlauf orientiert.²⁵ Gegenüber der Vigna Ciampelletti/Adriani, ehemals Vagnolini, liegt der zum Vatikan gehörige Fundus Rosarius der Trappisten-Väter.²⁶ Ich erwähne hier dezidiert den 1791 gegründeten Orden der Reformierten Zisterzienser von der strengerem Observanz, weil die archäologisch aktiven Mönche in zahlreichen Quellen Erwähnung finden und das Gebiet ihrer Ausgrabungen von der Gabelung der via Appia und der via Ardeatina bis nach S. Sebastiano reichte. Der zweite Orden, der sich archäologisch in der Region hervortat, waren die Padri Somaschi, die *intra muros* in der Vigna dei RR.PP. del Collegio Clementino San Cesareo tätig waren.²⁷

Tomassetti beschreibt die Lage folgendermaßen:²⁸ 'A sinistra è la vigna Ciampelletti, già Vagnolini, col gran sepolcro rotondo, che ho notato per la scoperta del musaico. Nell'interno della vigna vedesi tuttora, ma in istato deplorabile, il columbario, che senza alcuna ragione suole dirsi dei liberti di Augusto, ma che spetta più o meno al tempo di esso; ed è interessante a vedersi, specie nella parte esterna posteriore.'

Innerhalb des nur noch in Teilen seines Grundrisses und des aufgehenden Mauerwerks in *opus latericium* erkennbaren Grabmonuments hatte sich seit alter Zeit die Trattoria dei Liberti eingerichtet. Die sekundäre Nutzung hat gewiss zur Erhaltung des äußeren Erscheinungsbildes beigetragen, aber auch den Baubefund stark verunklärt. Das Columbarium wurde von zahlreichen Autoren dokumentiert und ist - wie das *Monumentum Liviae* - durch Stichwerke überliefert.²⁹

HYPOTHETISCHE REKONSTRUKTIONEN

An dieser Stelle sollen zunächst die bisherigen Rekonstruktionsvorschläge vorgestellt und diskutiert werden.

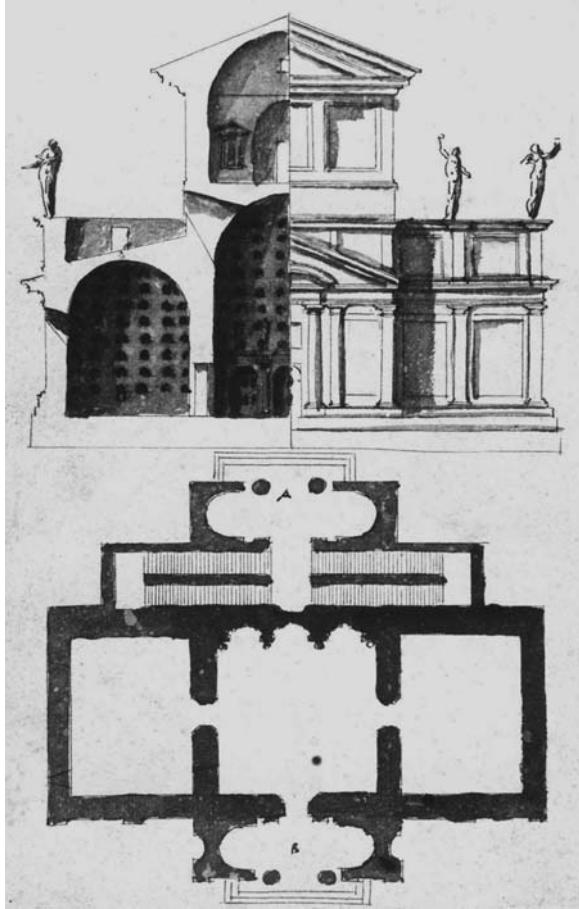


Abb. 2. Monumentum Augusti. Rekonstruktion von G.B. Montano, Silberstiftzeichnung, London, Sir John Soane's Museum, Montano Sketchbook 3, fol. 18r (Courtauld Institute of Art, Neg.Nr. 301/II (39)).

Giovanni Battista Montano (1534-1612)

Die Renaissancearchitekten bemühten sich bei der Wiedergabe antiker Architektur um größtmögliche Präzision. Im 17. Jahrhundert trat eine neue Form der Antikenaneignung mit Phantasie-Rekonstruktionen in Erscheinung, von denen sich die Barockarchitekten inspirieren ließen. Als Hauptvertreter dieser Richtung gilt G.B. Montano,³⁰ der sich jedoch weitgehend an den antiken Grundformen orientierte.

Der Mailänder Architekturtheoretiker Montano gliedert den Grundriss in einer getönten Silberstiftzeichnung im Besitz des Sir John Soane Museum (Abb. 2)³¹ ebenfalls in drei Kammern mit zwei Eingängen an der Vorder- und an der Rückseite. Die mittlere Kammer ist bei Montano deutlich breiter als die seitlichen, was nicht der Realität

entspricht, und die Rückwand ist durch drei hohe rechteckige Bogennischen gegliedert. Interessant ist sein Rekonstruktionsvorschlag mit einem Obergeschoß im Mittelteil und seitlichem Flachdach. Im Schnitt zeigt er die Möglichkeit der Entwässerung durch seitliche Pultdächer, verblendet durch eine hohe Attika. Das ist zwar unantik gedacht, zeigt aber, dass er sich Gedanken zu der bis heute nicht wirklich geklärten Dachlösung gemacht hat.

Der für Grabmonumente ungewöhnliche Treppenzugang hat keine antiken Parallelen, inspirierte aber Renaissancearchitekten wie beispielsweise Giuliano da Sangallo bei der Rekonstruktion des sog. Serapis-Tempels, dem Sonnentempel Aurelians. Bei ihm erklären sich die Idee der Treppenläufe jedoch aus dem Höhenunterschied zwischen Quirinal und Marsfeld.³² Der rückwärtige Zugang beschränkt sich in Montanos Rekonstruktionsvorschlag auf die Treppenläufe parallel des aufgehenden Mauerwerks. Piranesi und nach ihm Canina benötigen, wie wir sehen werden, einen aufwendigeren Zugangstrakt. Zusätzlich gestaltete er den Eingang vor dem Treppenaufgang in gleicher Weise wie den an der Straßenseite: als nach außen sichtbaren Rechteckraum, dem innen eine Ellipse eingeschrieben ist. Die Öffnung wird - wie am vorderen Eingang - durch zwei eingestellte Säulen und vorgelegte Stufen akzentuiert.

Der Aufriss Montanos zeigt das Untergeschoß des Baukörpers durch drei Pilaster und den Eingang durch vier Pilaster mit eingestellten Säulen gegliedert und - entsprechend dem Obergeschoß - von einem Dreiecksgiebel bekrönt. Die Halbsäulen, vor allem aber die ovalen Entrees könnten ein Hinweis darauf sein, dass dem Autor des Blattes das Objekt nicht durch Augenschein bekannt war. Die Höhe des unteren Giebels setzt sich an den Flügelbauten als hohe Attikaufbau fort. Im Schnitt sind im mittleren Raum sieben bis acht Loculi-Reihen sichtbar, die neben dem ungewöhnlichen Grundriss das Blatt Montanos als Architekturzeichnung zum 'Columbario dei liberti di Augusto' ausweist.

Gegenüber dieser originellen aber phantasievollen Rekonstruktion ist jedoch Zurückhaltung geboten.

Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778)

Eine zentrale Rolle bei der Wiedergewinnung des Grabmonumentes spielen die Kupferstiche von Piranesi.³³ Er überliefert einen Grundriss mit drei gleichgroßen agglutinierenden und untereinander verbundenen, tonnengewölbten Kammern und eine komplizierte Treppenanlage an der Rückseite

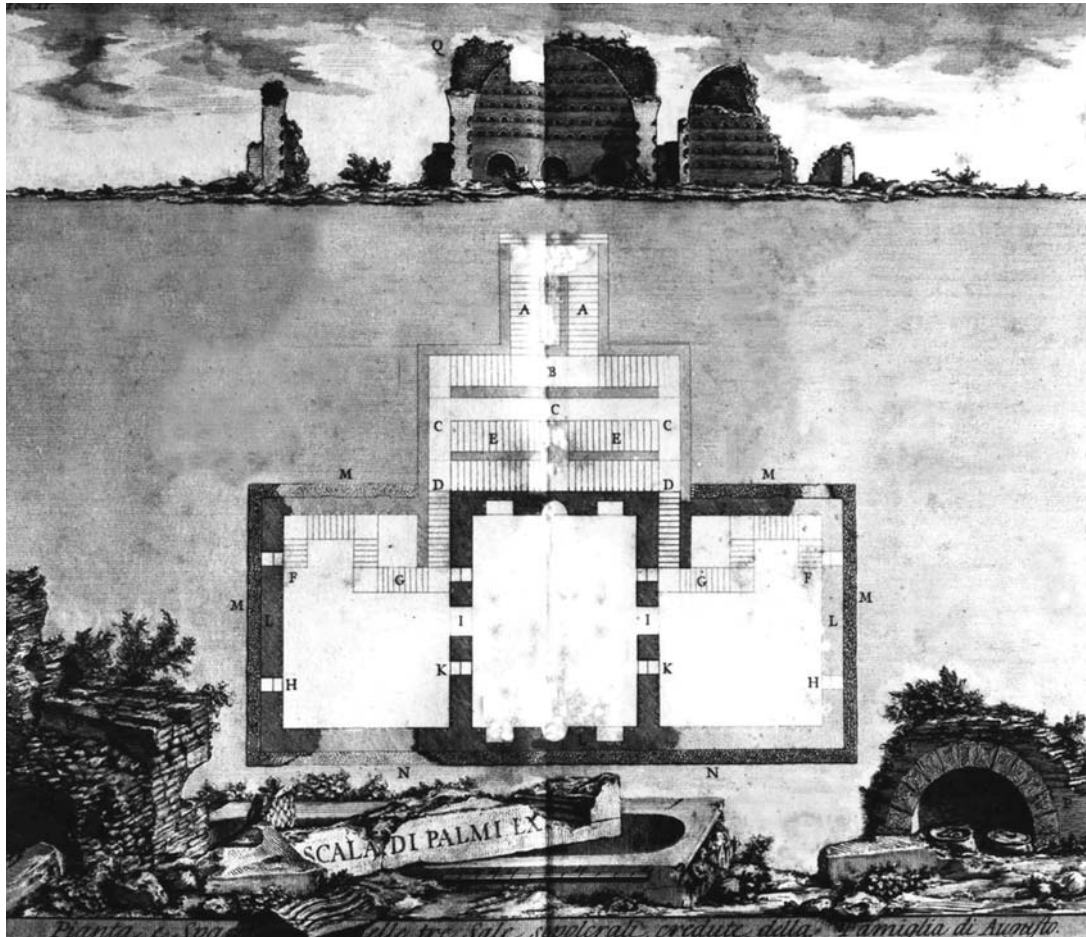


Abb. 3. Grund- und Aufriss des Monuments; Piranesi, 1756, Taf. 40 (Inst. Neg. DAI Rom 95.1038).

des Monuments (Abb. 3). Nachmessungen ergaben, dass die mittlere Kammer im Inneren mit 9.95×12.27 m nur geringfügig schmaler ist als die angrenzenden Räume der Seitenflügel. Dort ist aber die originale Wand so stark abgearbeitet, dass keine exakten Maße genommen werden konnten. Diese Räume waren - wie das hypothetisch angenommene *piano nobile* (Obergeschoß) - über den Mitteltrakt, durch gewendelte Treppenläufe zugänglich, die an der Rückseite des Monuments in einem zentralen Eingangsbereich gegenläufig aufeinander trafen. Spuren dieser Treppenläufe sind heute noch in dem original erhaltenen, aufgehenden Mauerwerk sichtbar.

Der darüber gelegte, etwas aus der Achse geratene Schnitt vermittelt eine Vorstellung von der Höhe der zu Piranesis Zeiten noch hoch anstehenden Mauern. In allen Piranesi-Stichen sind an der östlichen, bis in den Schildbogen erhaltenen Wand des Zentralraums im unteren Bereich bis

zum Wölbungsansatz zwei Reihen (11 b), à vierzehn Loculi mit jeweils zwei Aschenurnen sichtbar, darüber folgen vier Reihen und weitere den Gegebenheiten folgend bis in den Schildbogen zu vermerken. Die Zahl der Beisetzungen schätzt L. Spera³⁴ nach der Zahl der Aschenurnen in den Loculi auf ca. 3000. Das dürfte zu hoch gegriffen sein. Eine Zählung im Mitteltrakt ergab mit allen Ergänzungen 608 vorgesehen *ollae*, für das Gesamtmonument etwa das Dreifache.

Die eigentlichen Schwierigkeiten bei der Rekonstruktion nach Piranesi besteht in der unterschiedlich angegebenen Zahl der Loculi-Reihen an der südlichen Wand des Zentralraums, dem Einbau der querverlaufenden, mittelalterlichen Arkadenwand mit Gitterfenster, die auf antiken (?) Pfeilern ruht. Diese Pfeiler lassen sich unter einem Tonnengewölbe nur in der Tragfunktion verstehen. Was sie getragen haben, bleibt hypothetisch. Zu denken ist an die Wand eines kleineren Ober-



Abb. 4. Zentrale Kammer des Monumentum Augusti als Tinello (Weinkeller) mit Staffagefiguren; Piranesi, 1756, Taf. 42 (Inst. Neg. DAI Rom 95.1011).

geschosses, vor dem zur Straßenseite hin ein flaches Dach verlief. Auf dieses Obergeschoß weisen zwei heute noch sichtbare Bauernhäuschen hin, deren Dächer noch immer wie zur Zeit der Sticherwerke verlaufen: eins über dem Zentralraum und eins über dem nördlichen Seitenflügel. Zu einem angenommenen flachen Dach führten auch die schachtförmigen Schrägenfenster (Abb. 4). Hier besteht jedoch eine Komplikation: Piranesi zeichnet die Gewölbe der seitlichen Räume niedriger (vgl. Abb. 3). Zu erkennen ist die Wange der von ihm rekonstruierten Treppe aus den Seitenflügen zu der zentralen Treppenanlage beziehungsweise zu dem hypothetisch angenommenen Raum im zweiten Geschoß, der nicht mehr nachzuweisen ist.

Die größte Schwierigkeit besteht in einer logischen Erklärung für die Überdachung der Seitenflügel, die Piranesi schlicht als Tonne und darüber flach angibt. Ihm fehlt an dieser Stelle jedoch die tragende Wand für diese Tonne, denn die Süd- und die Nordwand des Zentralraums beziehungsweise Nord- und Süd- wand des südlichen Flügels zeigen Urnennischen, wie auch die schmalen Treppenwangen.

Der für Grabmonumente ungewöhnliche Treppenzugang hat – wie bereits erwähnt – keine antiken Parallelen.³⁵

Jean Barbault (1705-1766)

Eine Ergänzung bietet ein Blatt von Barbault in seinem postum 1770 erschienen *Recueil de divers monuments anciens* (Abb. 5).³⁶ Der französische Maler und Kupferstecher kam 1747 nach Rom und ließ sich von der Kunst Piranesis und dessen Verleger, Jean Bouchard, inspirieren. Sein Blatt ist sorgfältig, doch weniger detailliert und exakt ausgeführt als der Stich von Piranesi (Abb. 1) und deutlich in dessen Nachfolge einzuordnen.

Angelo Uggeri (1754-1837)

Auch Uggeri, Künstler und Architekturtheoretiker aus Cremona beziehungsweise Mailand,³⁷ folgt Montano, vor allem aber Piranesi – beispielsweise in der Treppenverteilung – und sogar bis in seine Irrtümer. Hier nenne ich die innere Schauwand im Zentralraum mit den drei markanten Ziegelbögen. Die äußeren Nischen unter diesen Bögen sind nach Piranesis Auffassung rechteckig, die mittlere halbrund angegeben; alle drei sind auf einem niedrigeren Sockel mit Aschengefäßen besetzt. Die Spiegelung dieser Wand auf die gegenüberliegende Seite entspricht nicht dem realen Befund. Trotzdem ist der Grundriss von Uggeri (Abb. 6) in französischem Fußmaß in unserem



Abb. 5. Vedute des Monuments von SO
(J. Barbault 1770, Taf. 9, nach Piranesi, 1756, Taf. 41).

Zusammenhang von Interesse, weil er die weiterwirkenden Architekturstudien auch für das 19. Jahrhundert bezeugt.

Carlo Labruzzi (1748-1817)

Ergänzt werden die zuvor genannten Rekonstruktionen des Monuments durch zwei Sepiazeichnungen von C. Labruzzi. Sie zeigen die Feldseite (Abb. 7) und den Einblick in den Weinkeller (Abb. 8)

aus der gleichen Perspektive wie wenige Jahre zuvor von Piranesi aufgenommen (Abb. 4). Labruzzi ist in der Wiedergabe der Architekturdetails jedoch weniger brillant als dieser.³⁸ Er wollte aber wohl auch weniger dokumentieren wie Piranesi oder kopieren wie etwa Barbault und Uggeri, sondern entwickelte eine eigene künstlerische Handschrift bezüglich seiner Appia-Landschaften mit Stafagefiguren.³⁹

Luigi Canina (1795-1856)

Canina bietet eine Rekonstruktion der Schauseite und einen Schnitt mit drei gleich hohen Gewölben (Abb. 9),⁴⁰ in der er die mittlere Kammer durch ein zweites Geschoss mit einem Satteldach ausgestattet und durch einen Giebel bekrönt, während er für die Flügelbauten Flachdecken vorsieht. Das ist ungewöhnlich. Zur Zeit von Piranesi und Canina war und ist bis heute der mittlere Teil des Gebäudes besonders gut und hochanstehend erhalten, so dass sich bei den rekonstruierenden Architekturhistorikern und Künstlern der Gedanke durchsetzte, an dieser Stelle sei ursprünglich ein weiteres Geschoss vorgesehen gewesen. Einer solchen Lösung widerspricht - eventuell aber nur scheinbar - die Angabe der Treppenläufe, die Piranesi sowohl im Grundriss als auch in einem weiteren Stich darstellt (vgl. Abb. 1).⁴¹

Die zahlreichen Treppen, die auch Canina zeigt,

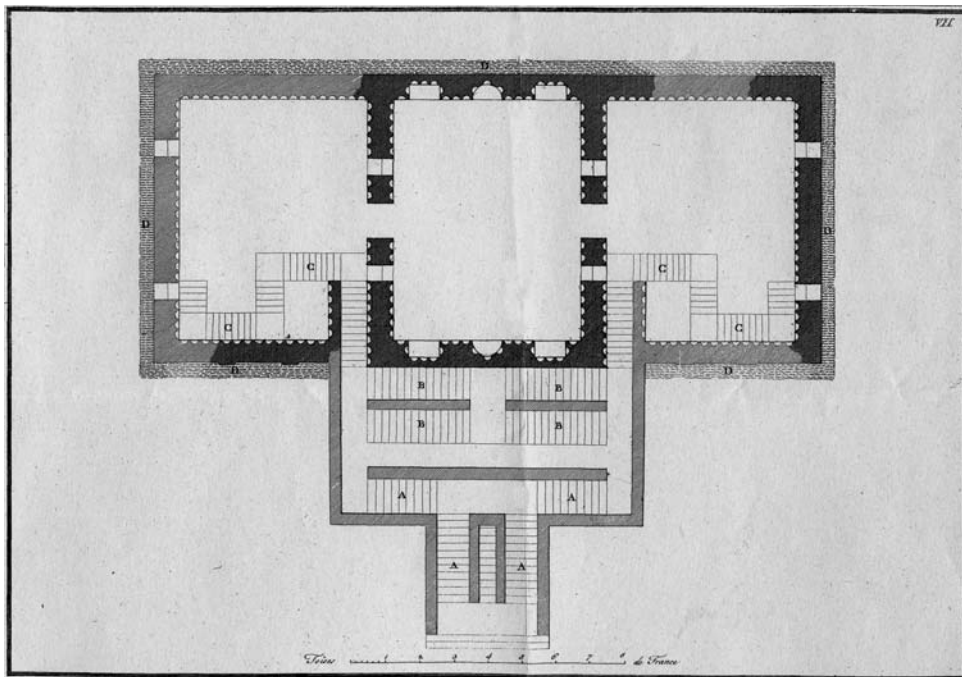


Abb. 6. Grundriss des Monumentum Augusti (Uggeri 1804, Taf. 7).

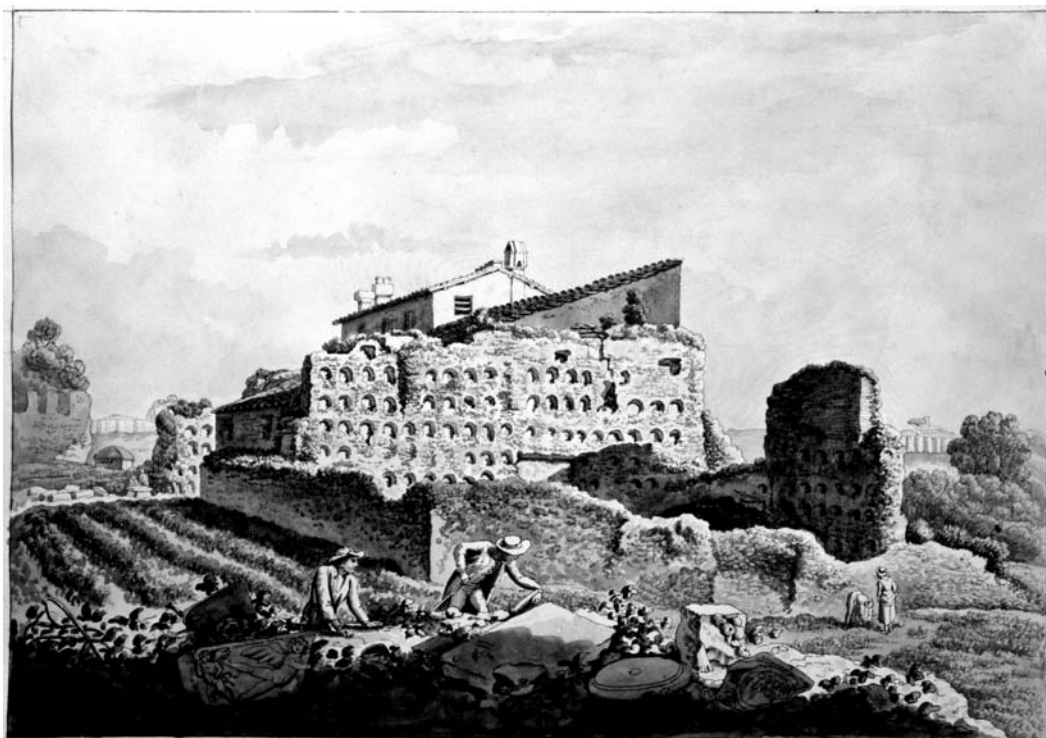


Abb. 7. Feldseite des Monuments. Sepiazeichnung von C. Labruzzi (Magni: D-DAI-Rom 1999.2272).

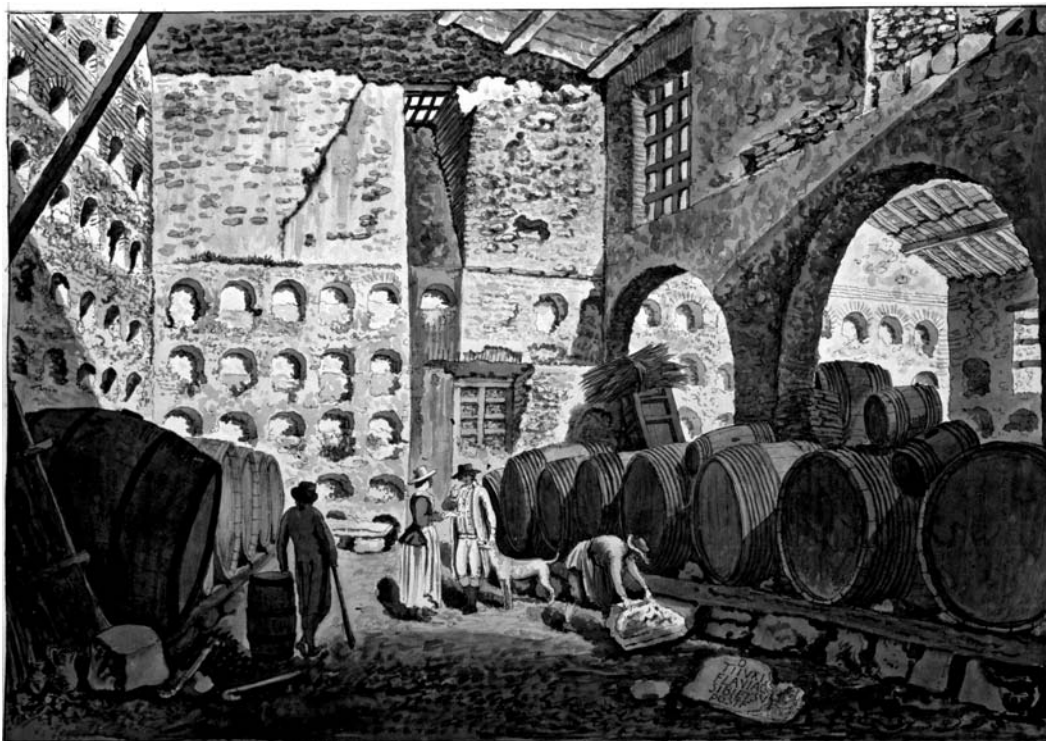


Abb. 8. Weinkeller des Monuments. Sepiazeichnung von C. Labruzzi (Magni: D-DAI-Rom 1999.2271).

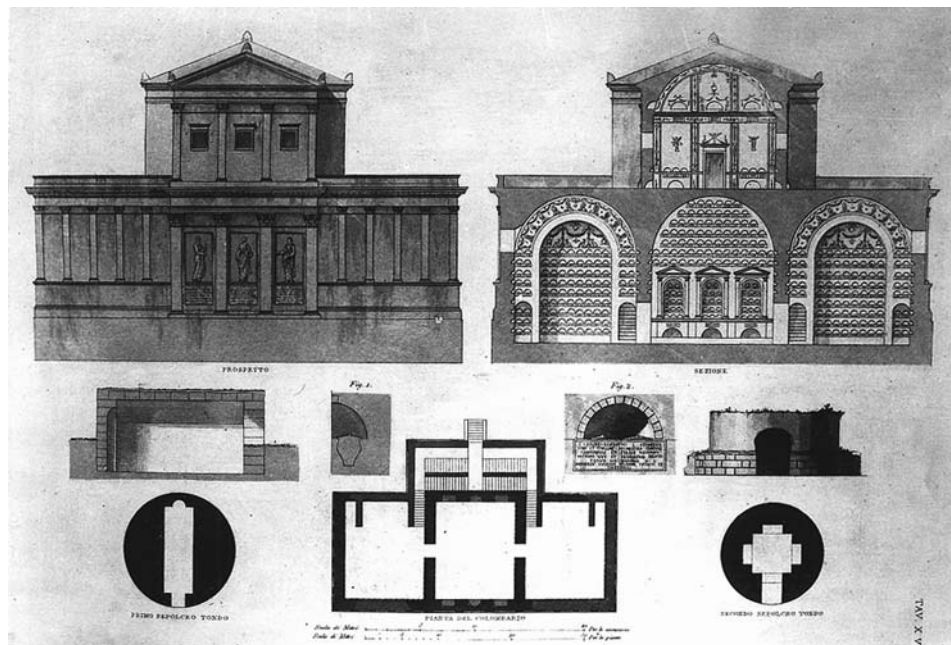


Abb. 9. Rekonstruktion des Monumentum Augusti von L. Canina (Inst. Neg. DAI Rom 56.875).

der das Programm Piranesis reduziert übernahm (vgl. Abb. 9), geben zu der Überlegung Anlass, ob nicht auch die Flügel des zentralen Columbarium-Raumes ein zweites Geschöß trugen. Doch der noch *in situ* erhaltene Schildbogen der mittleren Kammer scheint höher, als der Gewölbeansatz der Seitenkammern.⁴² Caninas Wanddekorationen sind reine Phantasie wie auch die drei an der Fassade eingestellten Statuen, die eventuell von der Überlieferung zum *Monumentum Claudii Marcelli* inspiriert wurde; das Scipionengrab wurde erst 1930 von dem Architekten Italo Gismondi in dieser Weise ergänzt.⁴³

Die Reste des originalen Ziegelmauerwerks der Rückseite zeigen an den Seitenflügeln noch Spuren einer regelmäßigen Gliederung durch schmale, wenig vor die Wand hervortretende Ziegellisenen (Breite 30, Tiefe 4, Abstand 146 cm). Die Lisenen-

gliederung über einem hohen ungegliederten Sockel verwendet Canina auch zur Rekonstruktion der Schauseite, deren Mitteltrakt er - in Korrespondenz mit dem Aufbau des Obergeschosses - durch höhere Lisenen und drei eingestellte Statuen betont.⁴⁴ An dieser, der Straße zugewandten Seite des Bauwerks, war bis in die 80er Jahre als Abschluss der vorspringenden Sockelzone noch ein Bodenfragment des wohl ursprünglichen *opus spiccatum in situ* erhalten.

ZUM BAUBEFUND UND ZUR AUSSTATTUNG

Der Stich von Piranesi (Abb. 4) und die aquarellierte Zeichnung Labruzzis (Abb. 8) belegen die Wiederverwendung des Columbariums als Weinkeller.⁴⁵ Piranesi beschreibt diese Ansicht folgendermaßen: 'Questa Sala sepolcrale spogliata non



Abb. 10. Halle, Museum Robertinum, Inv.-Nr. 594: Deckelfragment des Meleager-Sarkophags für Titus Sulpicius Seranus (<http://robertin.altertum.uni.Halle.de> (Datenbank)).

solo di tutti i suoi ornamenti più riguardevoli, ma ancora d'ogni pezzo di marmo e della stessa intonacatura, resta per la maggior parte sepolta sotto il terreno, come lo dimostrano i due nicchioni, che si scorgono da un lato. Veggonsi girar intorno le pareti con ordine distribuiti colombaj senza veruna iscrizione; anzi nemmeno vi apparisce alcun segno d'esservene stata giammai. La ragione di questo però è facile a congetturarsi, essendo caduta affatto dai muri l'intonacatura, dentro la quale sol tanto incassate erano le tavole della iscrizioni, nè si permetteva lo scavare il muro conto alcuno, per non indebolirlo, sull' idea, che quegli antichi avevano di perpetuare lo loro Fabbriche, e particolarmente quelle de' Sepolcri, a bello studio fatte per custodire in perpetuo le ceneri ivi riposte. Con che essi credevano non sola méta di trammandare a' posterì per tutte l'etadi avvenire la memoria dé loro defonti, ma ancora di mentenere più sicuro riposo. Ora serve questa Sala per uso di Tinello.'

Heute sind nur die Reste dieser mittleren Kammer, das Tinello (Speiseraum bzw. Weinkeller), erhalten, an deren östlicher Wand sechs Reihen mit Loculi deutlich sichtbar sind, die im oberen Wandteil den Gegebenheiten des Schildbogens folgen. An der Südseite der zentralen Bestattungskammer befinden sich vier, zu Piranesis Zeit wahrscheinlich sechs Reihen à siebzehn Loculi. Heute sind nur noch vier Reihen sichtbar, was eventuell auf eine Erhöhung des Fußbodenniveaus zurückzuführen ist. Darüber hinaus ist hier ein schräger Lichtschacht (*lucernario a bocca di lupo*)⁴⁶ vorgesehen, ein zweiter ist auf der gleichen Wand zu ergänzen. Das spricht für einen dahinter liegenden Treppenlauf und unter Umständen für ein seitliches flaches Dach, wofür sich sowohl Pira-

nesi als auch Canina entschieden.

Die nördliche Kammer ist bis auf die Spuren von Loculi im Inneren der Trattoria nicht mehr fassbar. Die nördliche Außenwand ist zwar im vorderen Teil zerstört, jedoch die einzige Stelle, wo bis vor wenigen Jahren originaler Baubestand zur Straßenseite noch fassbar war. An der NW-Ecke war eine Konstruktion mit Ziegelrisalit auf hohem Sockel sichtbar. Dieser Sockel aus Gußmauerwerk besteht aus bruchrauen, dunkelgrauen Natursteinbrocken, die mit dreieckigen Ziegeln verblendet waren. Diese Stelle ist heute durch die Terrasse und den Anbau der Trattoria verunklärt.

Die Ausstattung dieses großen Grabmonuments ist verloren und leider auch nicht mehr aus den Stichwerken zu rekonstruieren. Ripostelli und Marucchi vermerken lediglich: 'Nous conservons, chez nous un de ces gracieux chapiteaux, qui avait été donné par le locataire à un maçon, chargé de réparer le colombaire et que nous avons acheté à ce dernier.'⁴⁷ Es handelte sich dabei sicher um ein korinthisches Kapitell, weil auf die zierliche Form hingewiesen wird.

Das Monument hatte kein Hypogäum. Zwar vermuten einige Autoren, es habe ein 'halbunterirdisches' Geschoß gegeben; diese Annahme ist aber mit Sicherheit falsch.⁴⁸ Den Rekonstruktionsversuchen der Barockarchitekten kann in soweit gefolgt werden, dass die Ebene über den Grabkammern begehbar war, weil - wie in den Stichen heute noch *in situ* zu sehen ist - ein relativ kompliziertes Erschließungssystem auf den Grabbau hinauf führte, um dort das Totenmahl und die regelmäßigen *convivia* am Grab abhalten zu können.⁴⁹ Möglicherweise hatte der zentrale Grabraum - wie es in allen Rekonstruktionsversuchen wiedergegeben wird - noch einen Aufbau für ein Triclinium oder andere Nutzungen, die mit dem Grabkult und Grabpflege zusammenhängen, auch wenn schon allein die Gestaltung des Baukörpers mit einem höheren Zentralraum und niedrigeren Seitenflügeln durchaus römischen Formvorstellungen entsprochen hätte.

Für die Gestaltung mit einem höheren Zentralraum und niedrigeren Seitenräumen sprechen nämlich eindeutig die schräg nach oben führenden Lichtschächte, über die der dunkle Mittelraum und möglicherweise auch die Treppen der Seitenräumen beleuchtet wurden, und die in verschiedenen Stichwerken in unterschiedlichen Erhaltungszuständen wiedergegeben werden (Abb. 4). Diese Lichtschächte setzten ungefähr in Höhe der zweiten Loculireihe des Schildbogens an und mündeten über einem gegenüber dem Tonnengewölbe des Zentralraums etwas niedrigerem Dach,



Abb. 11a. Ansatz des Tonnengewölbes der mittleren Kammer und Lichtschacht an der Südseite (Foto S. Arnold).

Abb. 11b. Nordwand der südlichen Kammer (Foto S. Mols).

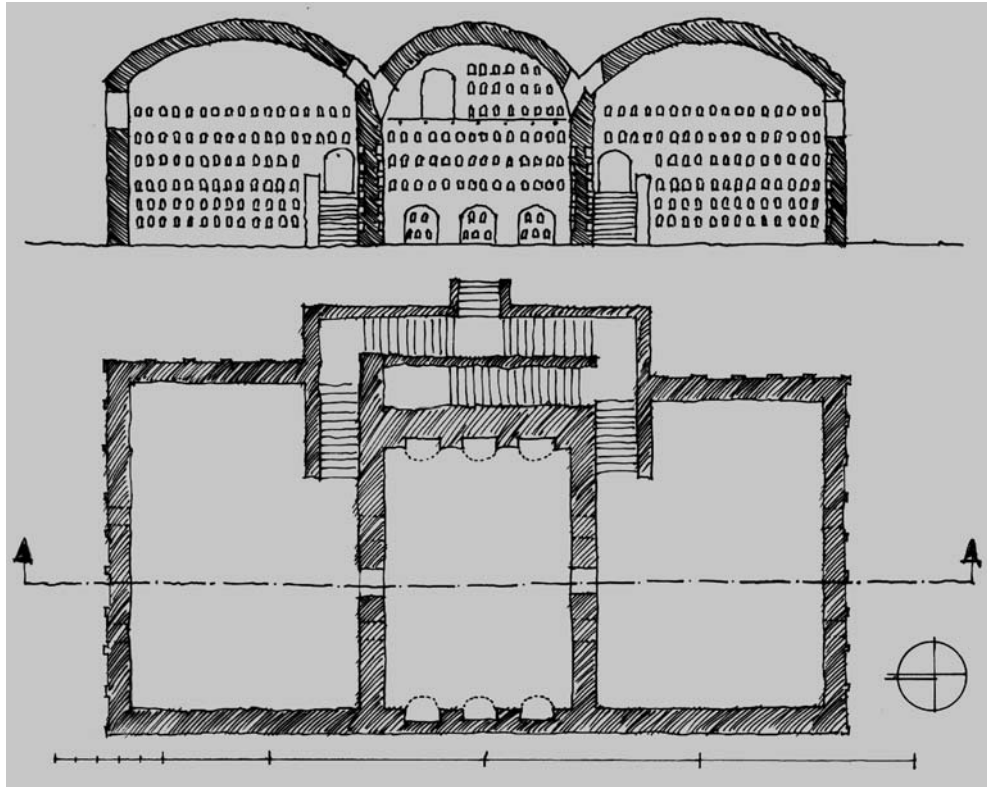


Abb. 12. Rekonstruktionsvorschlag auf Grundlage der Mess-Skizze von S. Arnold, Rom.

das zu Zwecken des Regenabflusses auch leicht geneigt gewesen sein kann.

Eine Rekonstruktion mit niedrigeren Tonnengewölben über den Seitenräumen bleibt aber insofern problematisch, weil sechs Loculireihen auf anderen Seite der noch hoch anstehenden Trennwand zwischen dem Mittelraum und dem südlichen Seitenraum sichtbar sind, aber kein Ansatz für ein Tonnengewölbe. Auf dieser Seite der Mauer sind hier aber interessanterweise mindestens drei - oder vielleicht sogar fünf - Reste von 'Konsolen' sichtbar, zwischen denen die Loculireihen weiter in die Höhe führen (Abb. 11b). Da diese 'Konsolen', die unter Umständen die Anker von Gurtbögen sein können, in der Wand eingebunden sind, kann man mit Sicherheit davon ausgehen, dass diese original und antik sind.

Dagegen, dass diese 'Konsolen' ursprünglich geplant wurden, spricht aber wiederum die rhythmische Verteilung der Loculi. Jeweils drei Öffnungen mit zwei Urnengefäßen wurde ein schmaler Loculus für ein einzelnes Gefäß hinzugefügt, was wie 'eingequetscht' so aussieht, als sei diese Lösung während der Bauphase notgedrungen ausgeführt worden. Die 'Konsolen' wären

dann die Folge einer Änderung der ursprünglichen Planung und hätten zur Ausbildung eines flachen Daches mit einer geringeren Stichhöhe als beim Zentralraum gedient. Ein Grund dafür könnte gewesen sein, dass man bei einem Tonnengewölbe Probleme mit der horizontalen Schubbelastung der seitlichen Außenwände befürchtete, zumal diese relativ dünn sind und die schmalen Risalite, wie sie noch teilweise auf der Ostseite erhalten sind, nicht zur Aussteifung ausgereicht hätten.

Wie diese Dachkonstruktion - insbesondere bei der relativ großen Spannweite - dann aber konstruiert war, muß hypothetisch bleiben. Alle Rekonstruktionslösungen mit normalen Tonnengewölben über den Seitenräumen, von denen alle bisherigen Autoren ausgehen, sind damit grundsätzlich in Frage zu stellen.

Außer in den Trennwänden zwischen den drei Grabkammern und den Außenwänden waren wahrscheinlich auch Urnen in die Wände eingefügt, die die Treppen in den Seitenräumen begleiteten. Eine davon - nämlich die Treppenwange der Südkammer - muß Piranesi offensichtlich noch in situ gesehen haben.

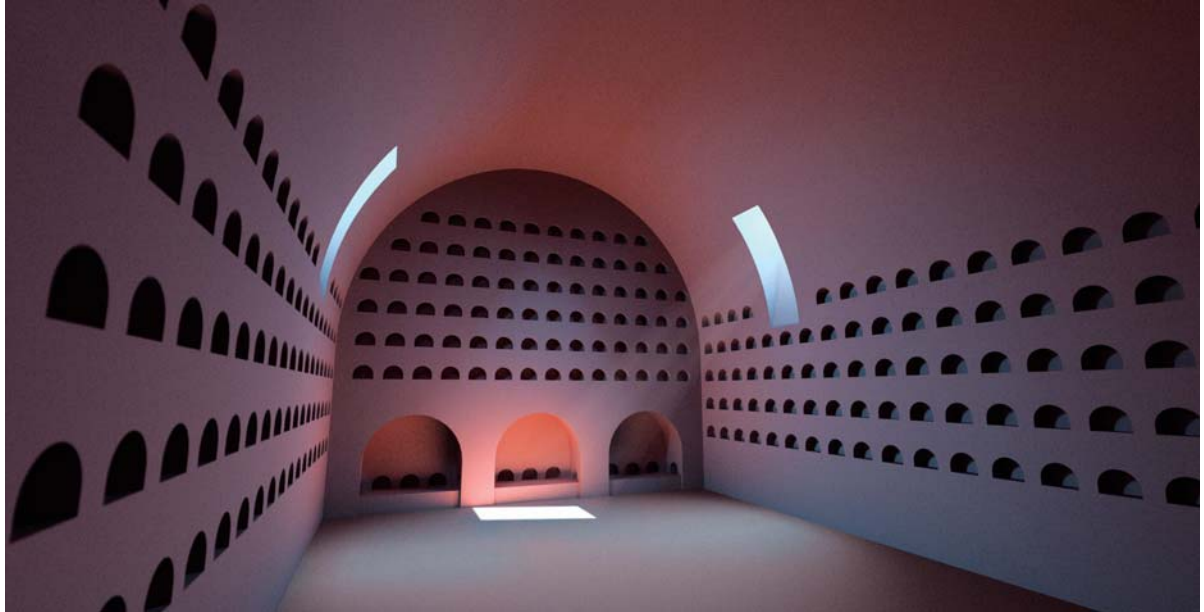


Abb. 13. Darstellung in 3-D von Wim Verbeieren, Gent.

Er zeichnet in seinem Schnitt (Abb. 3) diese schmale, kurze Wand aber als tragende Wand für ein massives Tonnengewölbe, was allein schon aus Gründen der Statik nicht möglich ist.

Die Unstimmigkeiten zwischen den Befunden und den verschiedenen Rekonstruktionsvorschlägen, wie beispielsweise auch der von S. Arnold (Abb. 12) stehen deshalb weiter zur Diskussion.

FUNDE

Im Bereich des 'Monumentum Augusti' wurden drei Sarkophagdeckel gefunden. M.G. Granino Cecere zitiert drei Sarkophag-Deckel mit senatorischen Inschriften:⁵⁰ L. Hostilius Ha[drianus] oder Ha[terius] (CIL 31715, L 1.42 m), C. Salvius Domitius Rufinus (CIL VI 31754 ; 1.48 x 0.24 m)⁵¹ und Titus Sulpicius Seranus (CIL VI 31769; H 0.18, L 0.65 m).⁵² Duktus und ikonographische Merkmale wie *hederae* sprechen für eine Datierung in das späte 2. oder beginnende 3. Jahrhundert n.Chr. Im Fall des Sulpicius Seranus haben wir den Glücksfall, dass vier zusammenhängende Fragmente eines Meleager-Sarkophags erhalten sind und im Robertinum, dem Archäologischen Museum der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, aufbewahrt werden (Abb. 10).⁵³ Sie wurden 1903 oder 1904 von Carl Robert (1850-1922) für die Sammlung erworben. Die mythologische Szene wird mit dem Tod und der Heimtragung des griechischen Helden Meleager nach der Jagd auf den

kalydonischen in Verbindung gebracht.⁵⁴ Sein Leichnam wird von drei Männern getragen: voran schreitet der Vater, König Oineus. Ziel des Zuges ist der Grabbau am rechten Bildrand neben dem Eckakroter. Der verlorene Teil des seitlichen Sarkophagdeckels soll nach der Beschreibung von Schimberg ein Jagdmahl mit Atalante, wobei der Streit um die Jagdbeute ausbrach, dargestellt haben: 'Atalante, Meleagro e tre altri cacciatori, giacciono su un letto intorno alla testa d'un cignale.' Auf der Seite des Leichenzuges links ist ein Zweigespann mit Lenker und Begleitung zu ergänzen. Zwischen diesen Szenen befand sich ehemals in ovaler Rahmung die Widmungsinschrift. Auf Grund des starken Einsatzes des laufenden Bohrers wird der Sarkophagdeckel in das fortgeschrittene 3. Jahrhundert datiert. Die struppige Haargestaltung der Eckakroter ist jedoch nicht anzuführen, weil solche Werkstücke grundsätzlich im Aufbau vorgeformt wurden.

Die onomastischen Beobachtungen belegen lediglich die Nutzungsdauer des Columbariums. Die ungewöhnliche Architektur des Monuments mag dazu verleiten, einen späteren zeitlichen Ansatz in Erwägung zu ziehen, als den der Columbarien in der Vigna Codini oder des *Monumentum Liviae* (julisch-claudisch), aber mangels datierbarer Inventare und Inschriften sind wir auf die Datierung der architektonischen Form angewiesen. Die beste Kennerin der Materie, R. von Kaenel, hält sich bezüglich der Laufzeit der 'Columbarien-

gräber' bedeckt. Deshalb sei hypothetisch der spätmöglichste Ansatz in das zweite Viertel des 1. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. vorgeschlagen, eine Zeit, in der kaiserliche 'Haushalte' so zahlreiche Liberti und Servi umfaßten, dass sie nur in solchen Großbauten untergebracht werden konnten. In der Folgezeit und mit der gegen Ende des 1. Jahrhunderts zunehmenden repräsentativen Sarkophagbestattung bürgerte sich der Typ der kleineren Privat-Columbarien mit fossa-Bestattungen ein, wo nur ein Teil für die Aschenurnen in Loculus-Nischen geplant, dagegen Haupt- oder auch nachträgliche Bestattungen in Arcosolien vorgesehen wurden.

Barbault vermerkte, dass wegen der Umbauten und mittelalterlichen Befestigungen entlang der via Appia die Inventare der Grabbauten kaum mehr zu identifizieren seien.⁵⁵ Die Funde wurden in diesem Fall aber wohl nicht nur verstreut. Es ist deshalb nicht auszuschließen, dass bei den Grabungsarbeiten am nahe gelegenen *Monumentum Liviae* beispielsweise Inschriften oder sonstige Inventare auch aus diesem Komplex mit aufgenommen wurden, weil ihr Bezug auf das Kaiserhaus erkannt wurde. Die Inschriften wurden in das von Bianchini geleitete Museo Lapidario des Stadtpalastes von Kardinal Albani im Erdgeschoss des Palazzo del Drago alle Quattro Fontane verbracht und wurden 1728 durch das Fundmaterial der von Kardinal Melchior de Polignac (1681-1741) veranlassten Nachgrabungen am *Monumentum Liviae* bereichert.⁵⁶ Piranesi war ebenso wie Gori, Bianchini, Ghezzi und anderen Altertumsfreunden bewusst, dass die marmornen oder auf farbig gemaltem Grund gravierten Inschrifttäfelchen mit den Namen der Verstorbenen, die beispielsweise Piranesi auf sieben Doppelseiten vorlegte, historische Dokumente waren.⁵⁷

Abschließend ist festzuhalten, dass die traditionelle Benennung 'Columbarium der Freigelassenen des Augustus' in keiner Weise fundiert ist. Das einzige Argument für eine Zuweisung an das Kaiserhaus ist die Tatsache, dass der Grabbau kein Hypogaeum, also kein unterirdisches oder auch nur halbunterirdisches Geschoß hatte, wie einige Autoren fälschlicherweise vermuten. Der hohe Wert eines so großen Grundstücks direkt an der Konsularstraße legt aber nah, dass der Boden kaiserlicher Besitz gewesen sein muss. Privatleute, die auf den Verkauf von Grabstellen angewiesen waren, konnten sicher nicht auf diesen Verdienst verzichten. Weil das Monument das einzige mir bekannte Columbarium ohne Untergeschoß ist, möchte ich für eine wirkliche Zuweisung an das Kaiserhaus im Sinne von Ghezzi für das Nachbar-

monument 'ed altri cesari'⁵⁸ plädieren. Wenn der wohl kostbarere und detailreichere Grabbau für den Haushalt der Livia noch zu Lebzeiten der Kaiserin errichtet wurde, dürfte das hier in Rede stehende, anscheinend nüchterner gestaltete und größere Monument kurz darauf auf kaiserlichem Grund entstanden sein. Die grundlegende epigraphische Studie von Cecere und Ricci eröffnet die Möglichkeit der stärkeren Differenzierung und Datierung des Columbarien-Typs innerhalb des kaiserlichen Bauprogramms in der Tradition der *pietas*, 'idea guida dello Stato augusteo'.⁵⁹

Das Columbarium-Motiv regte in besonderer Weise die Dekoration und Nutzung musealer Räume an, 'Columbarien in Zimmerformat'.⁶⁰ Ein besonders interessantes Grabmonument aus der Vigna Casali an der Via Appia zitiert V. Kockel; es wurde nach einer Zeichnung von Labruzzi aus dem Jahre 1794 im Untergeschoß des Hauses von Sir John Soane in London (Lincoln' Inn Field No. 13) installiert und ist heute verschwunden.⁶¹ Labruzzi und Soane waren einander 1779 in Rom begegnet. Auch die zeitgenössische Moderne bedient sich gelegentlich des auffälligen Motivs der Reihung gleich einem Taubenschlag.⁶²

Doch die von den gelehrten Antiquaren inspirierten Aquarelle und Kupferstiche bestimmen bis heute die romantische Sicht der via Appia Antica, die glücklicherweise durch neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen der römischen Soprintendenza ergänzt wird.

ANMERKUNGEN

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¹ Bibliographie: Sölch 2007; Kockel 2005.

² De Polignac 1993, II,1, 41-63; Kockel 2005; von Kaenel 2006; Blanc/Martinez 2008; Caruso u.a. 2008 (neuerdings Bauaufnahme durch S. Hops, Th Dortmund); Granino Cecere/Ricci 2008, 325 (nr. 1). T. Fröhlich und

- M.G. Granino Cecere planen eine Publikation des Columbarium des Scribonius Menophilus auf dem Gelände der Villa Doria Pamphili ehemals Corsini (ca. 30-20 v.Chr.). S. Fröhlich 2010, 381-401.
- ³ Vgl. Kammerer-Grothaus 1979, 326-329, Abb. 11-15.
 - ⁴ Angesichts der Ein- und Umbauten dieses Columbariums seit alter Zeit erscheint eine umfangreiche Bauaufnahme nicht sinnvoll, beziehungsweise stehen Aufwand und mögliches Ergebnis in keinem vertretbaren Verhältnis. Dasselbe gilt für zahlreiche gleichartige Bauwerke in Rom; darüber hinaus ist die Präzision der Grabarchitektur in der frühen Kaiserzeit nicht vergleichbar mit der an gleichzeitigen öffentlichen Bauten.
 - ⁵ Von Hesberg 1992, 76-80; Heinzelmann 2000, 63-64 (zur Typologie); 2001, 184-186; Feraudi-Gruénais 2001, 150-152, 159-161; von Kaenel 2006; Eisner 1986, 11, 14, 102 (lediglich am Rande erwähnt).
 - ⁶ Heinzelmann 2001, 184 Anm. 23.
 - ⁷ Lanciani 1892, 255-256; Becker 2005, 68-81.
 - ⁸ Granino/Cecere 2008, 329 Anm. 38, 39.
 - ⁹ Vgl. Kunst 2000, 289-290.
 - ¹⁰ Vgl. Anm. 2. - Zur Topographie an der Via Aurelia: M. Pensabene in Calza 1977, 21-27, Taf. 93-95.
 - ¹¹ Nash 1961, 333-339, Abb. 1103-1110.
 - ¹² Venuti 1977, 24.
 - ¹³ Bianchini 1738 (postum erschienen). Zu Bianchinis Grabungen auf dem Palatin, s. Miranda 2000.
 - ¹⁴ Vgl. allgemein Pietrangeli 1971, XLVI-LII; Pirazzoli 1990, 36-38.
 - ¹⁵ Riebesell 1989, 12.
 - ¹⁶ Vgl. Anm. 12.
 - ¹⁷ Zu den Auswahlkriterien beispielsweise des Kardinal Albani vgl. Allroggen-Bedel 1991; Kieven 1991 (ausgehend von der Sammlung des römischen Bildhauers Pacetti, seit 1843 im Berliner Kunstgewerbemuseum). - Allgemein: Piranesi 1983, 195-205 (beispielsweise zu P.L. Ghezzi). Röttgen 1982, 130-133.; De Polignac 1993, 41-63, 105-151; 2005, 165-178; Dostert/De Polignac 2001; Fileri 1991.
 - ¹⁸ Bartoli 1680, Taf. 2 (Grundriß 20 x 40 palmi romani = 4.47 x 8.94 m).
 - ¹⁹ Kieven 1993, 14.
 - ²⁰ Bianchini 1991; 1697 (vgl. *Archäologie der Antike. Aus den Beständen der Herzog August Bibliothek 1500-1700*, Wiesbaden 1994, 80-81, Abb. 3, 14).
 - ²¹ Bartoli 1680; 1706; Messineo 2000, Abb. 1.
 - ²² Vgl. allgemein: Neuerburg 1965; Lauter 1984, 212-223 (hellenistische Sepulkralarchitektur).
 - ²³ De Ficoroni 1732, 64; De Polignac 1993, 43 Anm. 10.
 - ²⁴ U.a.: Nibby 1820, 176 u. Anm. 14.
 - ²⁵ J. Ripostelli und H. Marucchi bezeichnen (1908, 71, Anm. 22) den Eingang als Nr. 26 und erwähnen zuvor auf der gleichen Seite einen »calcestruzzo«, einen aller seiner Charakteristika entkleideten Mauerkerne aus *opus caementicium*.
 - ²⁶ Tomassetti 1979, 74, 488 (bekannt durch die Kultivierung von Rosen).
 - ²⁷ Montalto Tentori 1937; Lanciani 2000, 108 Abb. 58-60.
 - ²⁸ Tomassetti 1979, 75.
 - ²⁹ EAA II (1959), 747 s.v. columbario (F. Grana/G. Matthiae); De Ficoroni 1732, 64; Piranesi 1756, Taf. 40-42; Barbault 1770, 19-20, Taf. 9; Labruzzi 1789 und 1794; Uggeri 1804, 91 Taf. 7; Canina 1853a, 149; 1853b, 65, Taf. 7; 1856, 4, Taf. 15; Parker 1877, 17-18; Ripostelli/Marucchi 1908, 71-74; De Rossi 1968, Nr. 4, 322, Abb. 6-8 (Piranesi); Quilici 1976, 26; 1977, 30; Kammerer-Grothaus 1979, 326-329, Fig. 11-15; Tomassetti 1979, 75, Abb. S. 66 (Foto Parker); Coarelli 1980, 16; Quilici 1997, 35-36; Spera 1999, 168 (UT 282; fig. 117, 246 Innenraum des Colombario dei liberti di Augusto); von Kaenel 2006, 278, Taf. 54-55, Abb. 136-140 Suppl. 1 zu Katalog A; *LTUR Suburbium I* (2001) 102 s.v. Appia Via (R. Paris mit Beitrag von M.G. Granino Cecere), Abb. 88-90 (bes. Abb. 89, AFCRXRip neg. L 160); Dostert/De Polignac 2001, 137-139, Abb. 12; *LTUR Suburbium III* (2005) 235-238 s.v. Liviae Augustae libertorum et servorum monumentum (M. Macciocca); Kockel 2005; von Kaenel 2006, 278, Suppl.1 Katalog A Taf. 54-55 Abb. 136-140; *Immagine* 1999, 57-58, Kat. 21.- Inschriften aus vigna Ammendola: *CIL VI* 7430-7581.21.
 - ³⁰ Montano 1624. Zum Werk: Zander 1958, Nr. 30, 1-21; Buddensieg 1979; Faibairn 1998.
 - ³¹ Montano 1691, folio 18 v.
 - ³² Giuliano da Sangallo, Rom, Bibl. Vat. Cod. Barberini lat. 4424 fol. 65. - Vgl. Nash 1962, II, 376-383; Kähler 1937; Castagnoli 1978; Moneti 1990.
 - ³³ Piranesi 1756, Taf. 40.
 - ³⁴ Spera 1990.
 - ³⁵ Vgl. Anm. 32.
 - ³⁶ Barbault 1770, Taf. S. 3. - Weitere Werke Barbault 1774.
 - ³⁷ Thieme-Becker 33 (1939) 540. - Uggeri 1804, 91 Taf. 7.
 - ³⁸ Labruzzi 1784, 1794; Inst. Neg. DAI Rom 1999.2271 und 1999.2272 (Cod. Vat. Lat. 14929, tav. 22.23); Buoncore 1990, 347-365, Taf. I-XI; Jatta 2005.
 - ³⁹ Labruzzi o.J. [um 1800] (25 kolorierte Stiche mit volkstümlichen Figuren).
 - ⁴⁰ Canina 1856, Taf. 15.
 - ⁴¹ Piranesi 1756, Taf. 40.
 - ⁴² Leider konnten wegen der Einbauten in das Bauwerk keine Höhenmaße ermittelt werden.
 - ⁴³ Kammerer-Grothaus 2006, 337-338.
 - ⁴⁴ Eventuell inspiriert durch die Fassade des Scipionengrabes und des *Monumentum Marcelli* (Gismondi/Coarelli). Vgl. Kammerer-Grothaus 2006, 337-344.
 - ⁴⁵ Piranesi 1756, Taf. 42.
 - ⁴⁶ Zur Beleuchtung von Grabmonumenten: Eisner 1986, 196-197.
 - ⁴⁷ Ripostelli/Marucchi 1908, 72, Anm. 1.
 - ⁴⁸ Nach Aussage der heutigen Besitzer der Gebäudeteile und der Soprintendenza. - Bezüglich des unterirdischen *Monumentum Liviae* hält Piranesi an einem oberirdischen Gebäudeteil fest (vgl. von Kaenel 2006, II, 212 Anm. 31); A.F. Gori vermutete das schon auf Grund der zahlreichen Funde marmorner Verkleidungsplatten.
 - ⁴⁹ Jastrzebowska 1981.
 - ⁵⁰ Wrede 2001, 143 (Register); Feraudi-Gruénais 2005.
 - ⁵¹ *RE XIX* Suppl. 593, n.12d s.v. Salvius (R. Hauslik).
 - ⁵² *LTUR suburbium I* (2001), 102 s.v. Appia via (R. Paris mit Beitrag von M.G. Granino Cecere); A. Schimberg, *RM* 3, 1888, 96-97 (De Rossi, Sitzungsprotokoll vom 14. Feb. 1887).
 - ⁵³ Inv. Nr. 194. - Koch 1975, 32, Kat. 103 Taf. 88c; Wrede 2001; Datenbank <http://robertin.altertum.uni-halle.de> (H. Lohr, 2002).
 - ⁵⁴ Zanker/Ewald 2004, 70-74, 347-355.
 - ⁵⁵ Barbault 1774, 18-19.
 - ⁵⁶ Justi 1923, II, 327 (man suchte nach Konsulaten; nur Steine von 'ausgesuchtester Gelehrsamkeit' sollten aufgenommen werden). Kardinal Melchior di Polignac weilte zwischen 1725 und 1732 als Botschafter beim Heiligen Stuhl in Rom.
 - ⁵⁷ Piranesi 1756, Taf. 32; vgl. Buberl 1994, 36-37, Abb. 19, Taf. 32. - Vgl. Treggiari 1975, 65 Anm. 5; Wrede 2001, 20-30.
 - ⁵⁸ Vgl. Kammerer-Grothaus 1979, 326 (Ghezzi 1731).

- ⁵⁹ Granino Cecere/Ricci 2008, 330; Zanker 2006, 111, 310.
⁶⁰ Kammerer-Grothaus 1984, 126 Abb. 1 (Dresden, Japanisches Palais im Raum der Antikensammlung von G.A. Hölzer); Kockel 2005, 130-133. - Vgl. sog. Columbarium unter der sog. Villa Hamilton in Wörlitz. Den Hinweis verdanke ich A. Rieche.
⁶¹ Thornton/Dorey 1992, 64; Watkin 1996, 21.
⁶² Andre Schweers, Papierguß 'Oia', Düsseldorf/Museum Kunstpalast, Große Kunstausstellung 2010. Der Hinweis ist A. Rieche zu verdanken.

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Imagining Power *Reality Gaps in the Roman Empire*

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Abstract

*This article reflects on some of the problems inherent in the study of imperial (self)presentation. It argues that Roman emperors had to bridge the gap between the reality of emperorship and its perception by different layers of society. Augustus solved the problem by putting forward a multi-faceted imperial persona, to whom different audiences could relate differently. This plurality characterised 'normal' images of power in the first two centuries of the Roman Empire. Exception to the rule was imagery of those rulers who expressly aimed to legitimate themselves through clear but controversial visual programmes. This resulted in inflexible imagery, and antagonistic reactions. The problems which the Roman Empire faced in the third century widened the 'gap' between imperial image and daily reality, and changed the dynamics through which Roman ideology was formulated.**

Every era has its own political reality gaps. Especially sole rulers regularly broadcast images which often bear only little relation to reality. The Roman Empire, which in many ways could be described as a military dictatorship, was no exception.¹ In the 3rd century AD, for instance, a period in which the Empire was under massive pressure, and saw more than fifty more or less legitimate rulers and usurpers, an army officer named Domitian is said to have become usurper over part of the Roman Empire for a short spell in AD 271.² In fact, there was so little evidence for this usurpation, that up to a few years ago, there was serious doubt about Domitian's position. That doubt was set aside recently when a single silvered bronze radiate coin of this Domitian II was discovered among a hoard (the Chalgrove II) of Roman coins found near Chipping Norton (Oxfordshire). This shows him clearly portrayed as emperor (*fig 1*). It was, actually, the second bronze coin showing the usurper, but the first sample was found under dubious circumstances in Southern France (Roman Aquitania) around 1900, and was deemed a forgery.³ Though the new find now makes Domitian's accession all but certain, his reign must have been exceedingly brief. Bronze coins were minted in large numbers, and are therefore also found in substantial quantities. Only two remaining coins thus signify an extremely short sway. For instance, over two hundred coins remain of the rather obscure usurper Laelian, who in AD 269 opposed for two or three months the first Gallic emperor Postumus.⁴

Domitian seems not to have had a solid base of

power. The 3rd century AD was characterised by unrest and usurpations, but on the whole would-be-emperors were supported by thousands of soldiers before trying to gain power over (parts of) the Roman realm. Domitian II, it seems, occupied the mint accompanied by only few men, which left him with nobody to defend his claim. Striking coins that proclaimed his power seems to have been more important than consolidating the power proper. The legend *CONCORDIA MILITUM* (harmony of the troops), which accompanied a standing *Concordia*, was wholly out of place. Unless Domitian tried to gain support by having his head depicted on coins, and wanted - like the Wizard of Oz - to be in power by making people believe that he was in power, through a feigned image. If so, it was unsuccessful. He was executed without further ado.⁵

Domitian II expressed an as yet unfounded powerbase on coins by minting his portrait on coinage. He was not the first would-be-usurper



Fig. 1. Chalgrove bronze of Domitian II (photo R. Abdy, courtesy British Museum, London).

to do so. Earlier, at the end of the 2nd century, the infamous emperor Commodus (180-192) only believed that his ostensibly trustworthy underling Perennis was trying to betray him when soldiers showed him coins bearing Perennis' portraits.⁶ Here too, execution followed. The importance of imperial portraits on coins is likewise clear from a surprised statement by the classical author Dio Cassius - a late-2nd/early-3rd century Roman senator from the Greek east - that in earlier times the emperor Vitellius (AD 69) had *not* destroyed the coins of his enemies and predecessors Nero, Galba and Otho.⁷ Equally interesting in this respect is the somewhat outlandish story by the same author that the emperor Caracalla (AD 211-217) convicted a young man for bringing a coin - and hence the imperial face - into a brothel, thus bringing it in disrespect, only to be released because the emperor died before the time of execution.⁸ The link between the value of the coin and the portrait of the emperor may be clearest from the notion held by some Romans that if it was the imperial portrait which gave a coin its value, then the greater the portrait on a coin was, the greater its value; a misconception that some laws explicitly warned against.⁹

Imperial power was indicated through imperial coinage. The imagery on coins both reflected that power, but in some ways also defined and constructed it. Domitian's attempts to hold the mint thus appear similar to modern attempts to occupy radio and television stations in contemporary *coups d'état*. These too fail without further military support. Imagining power was not enough without armed support. Reality got in the way.

MASKING POWER

300 years before Domitian's attempts to gain power, in 31 BC, Octavian, the later emperor Augustus, won a decisive victory at Actium, in the battle between himself and Mark Antony over supremacy in the Roman Empire.¹⁰ This was as much a battle of words and images as it was one of men and ships. Propaganda and counter-propaganda were used to convince people of the Roman-ness of the protagonists. Octavian was to be shown as the saviour of society - restorer of respect (to the *res publica* and the gods) - with his opponent depicted as a degenerate drunk, the whipping boy for Cleopatra, who was presented as a Wicked Witch of the East.¹¹

When Octavian had won the military battle, there was no longer an opponent to play images off against. From 31 BC onwards, it was clear to

all that the realm had only one ruler. Defining this ruler was a challenge not just for the new emperor himself and those surrounding him, but also for the heterogeneous population of the Roman Empire. Thus, directly after Actium, many must have been thinking about proper ways to flatter the new ruler, showing which side they - of course - had always been on. Anecdotal evidence may illustrate this, though the story is from a much later source, and may suggest as much about general power structures as it does of the situation at the time:

Among those who welcomed him on his return in state from his victory at Actium was a man with a raven which he had taught to say: 'Ave, Caesar, victorious commander'. Octavian was charmed by this compliment and gave the man 20,000 sesterces for the bird. But the bird's trainer had a partner, and, when none of this large sum of money had come his way, he told Octavian that the man had another raven and suggested that he should be made to produce it as well. The bird was produced and repeated the words which it was taught to say: 'Ave, Antony, victorious commander'. The princeps, however, was not at all angry but instead simply ordered the man to share the money with his mate.¹²

The story continues with others, inevitably, training flattering birds, and producing parrots and magpies, which Octavian duly bought. Not all birds were equally studious. A linguistically challenged raven heard his owner lament repeatedly 'nothing to show for trouble and expense' (*opera et impensa periit*). When the raven finally did manage to hail the emperor the latter replied that he had similar birds at home already. Upon which the bird repeated his master's words, 'nothing to show for trouble and expense', which so amused Octavian that he gave more money on that occasion than on all others.

Though the story might well be fictional, the image it brings to mind, of subjects searching for modes to compliment their new master, is also found elsewhere. In Athens, for instance, in 21/20 BC, a statue was carved for the new emperor (now called Augustus) as the new Apollo: Νέος Ἀπόλλων.¹³ Athenian local elite recognised and acknowledged the power of the new ruler, by equating him with the god Apollo, a divinity to whom Augustus had always shown honour - and who, in the earlier mentioned battle of images with Mark Antony, was clearly positioned on



Fig. 2. *Augustus Apollo*
(from Pollini 1990, fig. 18; denarius 29-27 BC,
Bibliothèque Nationale 88 A 60412).

Augustus' side. Associating the new emperor with Apollo is often seen as a reaction to a centrally constructed notion, but it cannot be sufficiently emphasised that - in this case at least - there was no such central notion.

Though Augustus had emphasised that Apollo was his favourite deity and (unsubstantiated) rumours circulated that Augustus had once dressed up as Apollo at an infamous dinner-party, clear images of Augustus as Apollo were never centrally produced.¹⁴ Only in 29 BC a series of coins was issued, which show the face of Apollo, the features of whom might perhaps - with some reading into it - bear resemblance to those of the emperor (fig. 2). Yet, perhaps to avoid any possible confusion, not a single coin depicting Apollo's face was struck at Rome from 27 BC onwards.¹⁵ The Athenians who set up their image of a 'new Apollo' did so because they thought it might please the emperor, not because the emperor had showed them that it would.

The enthusiastic ravens and images of the emperor as a god in Athens suggest that Roman subjects subjugated themselves to their new superior lord. But this new superior lord had different ideas. He could not simply drop the carefully constructed image which had suited him so well in the battle with Mark Antony.¹⁶ He was the defender of Roman-ness. Wielding supreme power did not mean he could show his might. The new image of Augustus was that of someone taking responsibility, but not acting as sole ruler. After all, his adoptive father Julius Caesar had been assassinated for showing superiority without

measure. Augustus, therefore, slowly shaped his power in various 'constitutional settlements', and described his ensuing position rather modestly in his *Res Gestae*, which was prominently displayed after his death through various inscriptions throughout the realm:

After this time I excelled all in influence (*au-toritas*), although I possessed no more official power (*potestas*) than others who were my colleagues in the several magistracies.¹⁷

During his life, too, the unmistakable power of the emperor was hidden behind more traditional facades. Images masked the reality of power. Even the well-known building activities of the emperor were often presented as restoration activities. Where that was impossible, like in the case of the Palatine Apollo temple, the motives for construction were mostly phrased in traditional terms.¹⁸ Where Domitian II, hurriedly minting coins, tried to gain power by appearing powerful, Augustus could remain powerful by masking his power. In both cases image and reality bore little resemblance to each other.

PRODUCING AN EMPEROR

Gaps between image and reality as sketched above tend to cause conflicts. Sometimes, these conflicts are easily solved. The gap between Domitian's image and reality was bridged by his execution. Augustus, however, managed to bridge his 'reality gap' by using conflicting images. There was no need to erase one image - in different contexts different images could exist alongside one another. Different people, in different areas, acknowledged Augustus in different ways. He was simultaneously a prominent - but not overbearing - senator and absolute ruler. He was human, superhuman and divine - traditional and innovative.

There have been regular attempts to link these different images, or at least to create a hierarchy between them. In doing so, images of Augustus as unmitigated autocrat are often marginalised. For instance, Pollini argues that the divine-Hellenistic images of Augustus, such as the famous *Gemma Augustea* (fig 3) 'cannot be considered indicative of official Augustan ideology because of the private nature of the cameo'.¹⁹ This is true. Yet, an image which is not indicative is not absent, nor invisible. The Augustus of the *Gemma Augustea* - throned and laureated, and physically elevated in the audience's eyes, is as much part of

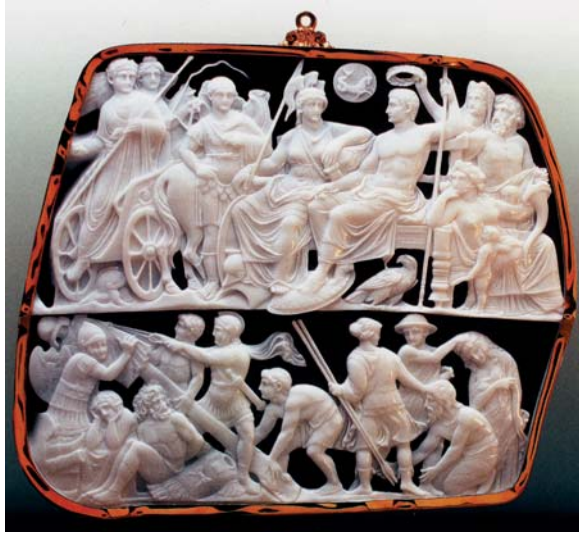


Fig. 3. *Gemma Augustea* (from Zwierlein-Diehl 2009, p. 319; Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Antikensammlung, inv. IXa 79).

imperial imagery as centrally issued notions of a Roman-traditional *princeps*.²⁰ Private images were visible to Augustus' contemporaries, and often show how those contemporaries thought the emperor wanted to be seen.²¹ Though both ancient and modern authors have often tried to (re)construct a 'coherent' Augustus, one might suggest to simply accept the incoherence of Augustan imagery, and conclude that the Romans themselves - at least for a substantial period of time - did not quite know what to do with their new ruler either.

Augustus' image, then, may not have been centrally moulded and well-defined, but rather one that developed through second-guessing by the different subjects of what their new ruler expected and, probably, reactions from the centre to these expectations.²² Augustus used the resulting plurality of images to his advantage. It might not be a coincidence that the emperor Julian the Apostate (360-363) - known especially for trying to 'repaganise' the Christian Roman Empire - already used Augustus as by-word for a flexible image:

Octavian entered, changing colour continuously, like a chameleon, turning now pale now red; one moment his expression was gloomy, sombre, and overcast, the next he unbent and showed all the charms of Aphrodite and the Graces.²³

Plurality of images could also explain how emperors as different as Vespasian, Trajan and Hadrian

could all present themselves - with some justice - as a 'new Augustus'.²⁴ They simply stressed different aspects of the Augustus-persona.

This plurality appears a uniform characteristic of imperial representations in the early Roman Empire. The coexistence of images which, strictly speaking, ought to exclude one another made the emperor easier to accept for the wide-ranging population of the Roman Empire. These different images could then be used to appeal to different audiences - or at least almost every emperor accepted that different 'target-groups' put forward different images. Hadrian, for instance, famous for his Wall as much as for retreating from occupied territory, and demarking the limits of empire, could be considered a peace-emperor *par excellence*. His statues and coins, on the other hand, regularly depicted him in military gear (figs 4-6). And, though he did not use many titles on his coins,²⁵ locally fabricated inscriptions mention substantial numbers of titles.²⁶ In fact, much more than Augustus (and perhaps even Nero), Hadrian was locally celebrated as Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος, Διόνυσος, Νέος Διόνυσος, Νέος Ἀσκληπιός, Νέος Ἥλιος, though he never centrally presumed divine status.

These parallel, or even conflicting, images of power were acceptable and perhaps even encouraged, as long as they did no damage to the imperial powerbase. That does not exclude some measure of central control. Arrian of Nicomedia, for instance, the 2nd century philosopher/historian, wrote a famous passage in a letter to Hadrian about a statue of the emperor which he had seen at the Black Sea coast:

A statue of you stands there, rather fitting in its posture, as it points towards the sea, but as far as the execution goes, neither did it resemble you, nor was it very beautiful. Send, therefore, a statue in the same posture, one truly worthy to carry your name, for the place is wholly suitable for an eternal memorial.²⁷

In this case, perhaps, it was Arrian who thought that the statue would be unacceptable to the emperor. Yet within Hadrian's reign there is also evidence for imperial limits to imagery, and perhaps even restrictions proper. The evidence can be found in Hadrian's coinage. In AD 117, when Hadrian had just come to power but was yet to return to the capital, a series of coins was issued in his honour, depicting him as 'Father of the fatherland' (*pater patriae*; fig. 4). A second series of coins, issued after Hadrian had arrived at Rome, no longer uses the title *pater patriae* (fig. 5). Only ten years later, in



Fig. 4. Denarius Hadrian, AD 117. Obverse: Hadrian: laureate, draped and cuirassed; reverse legend: PARTHIC DIVI TRAIAN AVG F P M TR P COS P (RIC 2c) (courtesy British Museum, London).



Fig. 5. Denarius Hadrian, AD 118. Obverse: Hadrian: laureate, draped and cuirassed; reverse legend: P M TR P COS II PAX (RIC 44) (courtesy British Museum, London).



Fig. 6. Aureus Hadrian, AD 132-134. Obverse: Hadrian draped; reverse: Hadrian cuirassed, right hand raised, cross spear with two points, legend: COS III P (Cohen 491) (image from UBS Numismatics Online Shop, December, 2008).

128 AD, the title is used again (fig. 6). Here, it seems clear that whoever decided coin types anticipated the way in which the new emperor wanted to be seen, but was mistaken. As soon as Hadrian returned to Rome, he corrected the image.²⁸

Thus, it seems, emperors were 'produced', creating the emperors' images. From the bottom up different layers of society anticipated how the emperor wanted to be seen. The emperor, in turn, tried to adjust his image to expectations. The central imagery which resulted could lead to local reactions, which in turn could occasionally cause new adjustments in central imagery.²⁹ Different images were moulded to fit into the different realities that constituted Roman society.

CLARITY AND MADNESS

Not all emperors played by the rule. The process of producing emperors, in which all sides did their utmost to abide to the other sides' expectations in creating an imperial image, does not seem

to have held sway for the so called 'mad emperors' of Rome. Infamous emperors like Caligula (37-41), Nero (54-68), Commodus (180-192) and Elagabalus (218-222), because of madness or for other reasons, broadcast very specific images.³⁰ Nero, for instance, so clearly presented himself as a theatrical autocrat, and Commodus as a divine gladiator, that other images paled into absence, especially since these rulers *personally* put the image forward - and lived it in the public eye.³¹ These strong central images left little space for inserting parallel imagery. When Nero expressly emphasised maternal ancestry in his titulature (the first emperor to do so), inscriptions throughout the empire had to follow him rapidly and consistently.³² Similarly, when Commodus, dressed like Hercules, opened the consular year accompanied by gladiators, it became difficult to portray him simultaneously as kindly senator.³³ Interestingly, the emperors for whom this analysis holds are without question young men, whose only claim to the throne was an explicitly dynastic one. Unlike experienced emperors such as Tiberius, Trajan or Marcus Aurelius they could not refer back to their accomplishments and may well have had to overcompensate for this in order to gain acceptance as a ruler.³⁴ One way of doing so was through the creation - in actions and images - of an imperial persona which was not depended on experience, but was justified through other factors.³⁵ Clearly, the choice of the *persona* was important for the emperors' (later) reputation, but it might be suggested that the lack of a flexible way to interpret their imperial images was of the utmost importance for the perception of these emperors as mad. Going against expectations carries risks.

One should not exaggerate the point. 'Sane' rulers sometimes also presented themselves and their family unequivocally. Vespasian - Nero's successor - clearly steered away from his predecessor's portraits and portrayed his head bald and wrinkled against Nero's idealised features and careful coiffure (figs 7-8).³⁶ This was a clear and unambiguous change of imagery. But even if the image was centrally constructed, there remained possibilities for slight variations. Vespasian was generally portrayed (in literature and visually) as a kindly and experienced, though somewhat mean, older man, but nobody denied that he was also a dominant commander - which was also emphasised by the many coins that showed IUDEA CAPTA (fig. 9). And in any case, Vespasian's image was created to be least offensive to most audiences, whilst the autocratic image of the likes of Caligula and Nero was unacceptable to at least the higher

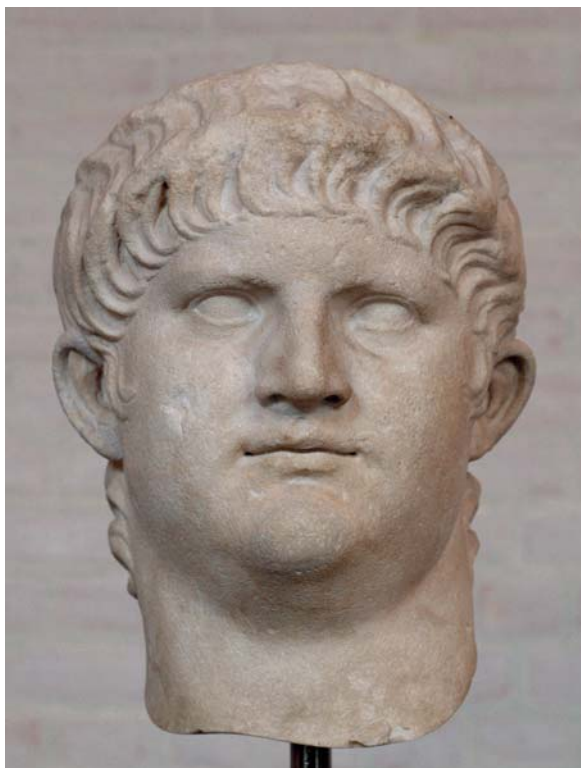


Fig. 7. Nero, Glyptothek München, inv. 321 (photo E.M. Moormann).

echelons of society. There are even indications that Vespasian's image reacted to local realities.³⁷

The importance of these subtleties, and of imperial images more generally, should not be underestimated. The emperor's authority was absolute. His image, on coins or in statuary, was omnipresent. The young Marcus Aurelius was rightly (and famously) told by his tutor Fronto:

You know how in all money-changers' bureaux, booths, bookstalls, eaves, porches, windows, anywhere and everywhere there are likenesses of you exposed to view (Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.* 4, 12.4).

Recent estimates hold that the total number of statues in Rome by the mid 2nd century AD was approximately half a million - or one statue for every two persons. Rome's 'second population' formed an intrinsic part of public life, and imperial prototypes did much to shape other public, and private, statuary.³⁸ Private portraits from the provinces, and equally from Italy itself, regularly followed fashions which were expressed and initiated through imperial models. Often these por-

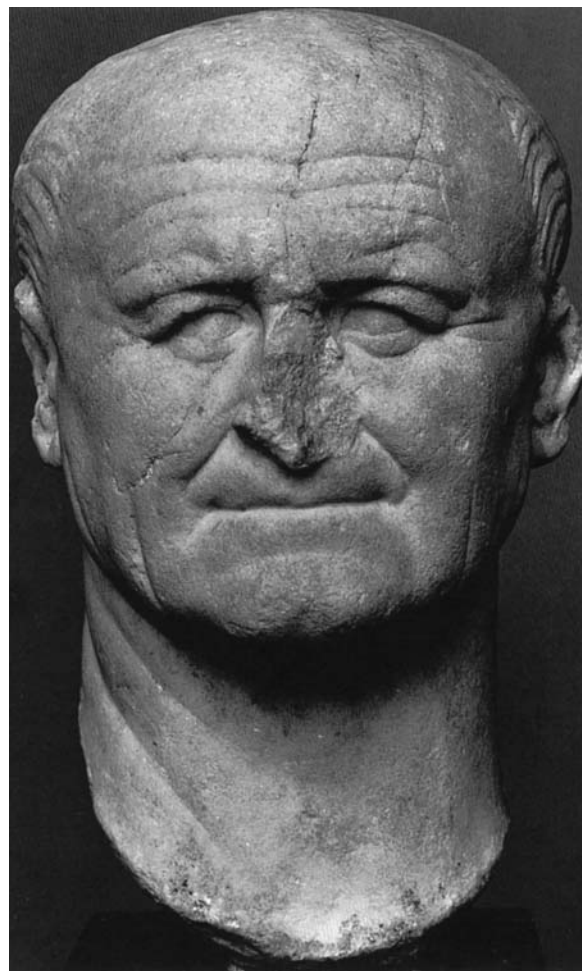


Fig. 8. Vespasian Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, inv. 2585 (photo E.M. Moormann).

traits were modelled so closely on imperial images that musea still erroneously identify these busts as small imperial statues.³⁹ Even state-portraits, by client-kings such as Juba II of Numidia, were often based on imperial exempla.⁴⁰

IMAGE IS EVERYTHING

Plurality, it seems, characterised 'normal' images of power in the first centuries of the Roman Empire. Exception to the rule was imagery of those rulers whose power base may not have been sufficiently all-encompassing. That imagery aimed to expressly legitimate the emperor with some groups in the realm, through clear but highly controversial visual programmes. This resulted in inflexible imagery, and often antagonistic reac-



Fig. 9. Sestertius Vespasian AD 71. Reverse legend: *Iudea Capta, SC* (RIC 159) (courtesy British Museum, London).

tions. In turn, these reactions, especially by the higher echelons of society who wrote history, could lead to negative posthumous reputations as 'mad' emperors. Rulers who were sufficiently certain of their power base could (and did) adopt a more flexible pose. The principle might be expressed more generally. True power is characterised by the absence of necessity to act upon it. If a position of power is inescapable, it need not be emphasised. There were, of course, certain parameters, such as ubiquity of the images of ruling emperors, and the monopoly for the imperial family on images on coins. But within these boundaries, possibilities were near-endless.

It might be hardly surprising that images of power change in a time of crisis. When it is unclear who is in control, flexible depictions can become more problematic. The Roman Empire in the 3rd century AD was clearly a community in which central authority was - to say the least - somewhat unstable. There was a structural lack of dynastic stability. The empire saw fragmentation, multiple usurpers over the whole or parts of Roman territory, and changes in traditional patterns of status.⁴¹ When individuals such as Domitian II find possibilities to start minting their own coins, clear power relations are at a low. As a result, those in power changed their messages. More than before, military prowess was systematically put forward through various centrally-issued coin types, whereas messages emphasising the ability of rulers to guarantee *aequitas* (equality/stability) were much less prominent than before.⁴² There is discussion about who *exactly* decided on imperial coin types, but there does seem to be consensus that central coinage communicated central messages from the emperors, or those directly surrounding him.⁴³ The centre, then, adapted imperial representation to changes in reality, even if it did not fully reflect it.

Accordingly, when towards the end of the 3rd century the emperor Diocletian (284-305) established a new political structure, imperial representation was adapted once again. For politically,

towards the end of the 3rd century, the empire changed tremendously. Structural reforms in a multitude of areas led to the Tetrarchy - which with its system of having two *Augusti* supported by two *Caesares* became a much more centralised form of government.⁴⁴ The new key word was unity - with emphasis on the divine will through which the new rulers, joined in power, could reign. The divine quality of the rulers was emphasised explicitly. One emperor was named *Jovius*, the other *Herculius*, clear references to the gods Jupiter and Hercules whose regents on earth the emperors were supposed to be.⁴⁵ The tetrarchs, thus, rose far above the elements that had hitherto constituted the Roman state.

New images showed the new power. Yet, the dynamics through which ideology was formulated were adapted, not entirely renewed. It has long been argued that the images of the Tetrarchs were wholly created at the centre. If, in this view, imperial imagery in the first two centuries AD could be described as a dialogue, or perhaps a discussion with various members of the audience, Tetrarchic imagery had best be described as a soliloquy - a theatrical explanation to the public, somewhat detached from any reality.⁴⁶ And indeed, statues, paintings, coins and text all broadcast the same, or at least very similar, central messages. The emperors thus formed a self-supporting institution, inseparable and whole. Porphyry reliefs that were originally part of two columns in Constantinople but now form a famous statue group in Venice (fig. 10) illustrate the point most clearly. The emperors form a homogeneous group.⁴⁷ As a consequence, personal features of the individual rulers were ignored, which was apparently deemed immaterial. The central image of unity and coherence was more important than real expressions.

This unity was also expressed by rulers clasping hands, or by the clasped hands as loose symbol. This became a regular image on coins and in statues - *dextrarum iunctio* (with the right hands clasped).⁴⁸ That very phrase was used in panegyric as well:

For you rule that State with one mind, nor does the great distance which separates you hinder you from governing, so to speak, with right hands clasped.⁴⁹

Notably, however, there has been recent emphasis on Tetrarchic imagery which places less emphasis on imperial homogeneity, and might allow for some more flexibility in the way the imperial image was created.⁵⁰ On at least some of Tetrarchic coins the different emperors were recognisably diverse through specific features.⁵¹



Fig. 10. Tetrarchic Porphyry reliefs, Venice
(photo E.M. Moormann).

Likewise, though Mamertinus, the further unknown author who (sometime between AD 287 and 289) delivered the panegyric to Maximinian from which the above citation stems, seems to have been exceptionally sycophantic and did not expect his audience to be surprised by this, it is not clear whether he simply followed orders, or retained some initiative.⁵² The notion of *Concordia*, for instance, which Mamertinus emphasised, only became a common Tetrarchic coin type after AD 289.⁵³ It may of course be that this orator reacted to what was communicated to him by the court at Trier (where he probably delivered his panegyric), but it could also be that his expressions formed the basis for a later formulation of Tetrarchic messages.⁵⁴

If so, the process is somewhat comparable to what seems to have happened nearly two centuries earlier, when Pliny the Younger read his panegyric to the emperor Trajan in 100 AD. There, the interaction between expectations which poets put forward and imperial reaction is pronounced.

Pliny seems to have been continuously 'second-guessing' what the emperor wanted to hear, and spent a substantial part of his speech defending his sincerity in using expressions that were near to (but not necessarily an exact copy of) imperial self-fashioning.⁵⁵ If, indeed, Mamertinus worked in a similar way, it shows that even the Tetrarchic ideology retained some flexibility.⁵⁶ Still, in one way at least the difference between the two panegyrics is pronounced. Mamertinus' claims (and indeed many of the centrally produced coins and statuary) show the absence of any correlation between image and reality.

For unity amongst the tetrarchs was little and far between, and there certainly were hierarchical differences within the ranks. Statues might proclaim unity and power; that did not make continuous usurpations and malcontent less real. The summit here might well be a famous prize edict, issued by the tetrarchs in 301 (fig. 11). It introduced maximum prizes on a wide range of products, possibly to boost spending power for local elites. But the only direct result of the edict was the creation of a substantial black market.⁵⁷ The tetrarchs suggested that they had a measure of control which proved wholly absent. Similar notions arise from the lengthy preamble to the edict, which celebrated peace and unchallenged supreme power - both conspicuously absent in reality.⁵⁸ The emperors presented a fictitious authority, which was absent in most aspects of daily life. The images of power were wholly self-contained.

BRIDGING THE REALITY-GAP?

One constant in describing images of Roman power has been a continuous conflict between image and reality. Not only did fact and fiction blur, but different fictions screened off different facts. Yet, if reality is shielded by a plurality of 'spin', how can historians researching Roman ideology nowadays find perspectives and gain insight in how the ancient world worked? Is there a path through the labyrinth of parallel and seemingly mutually exclusive images, which rulers and subjects, in discord and collaboration, have constructed around Roman rule?

One often used method is to turn to comparative history and the social sciences to find solutions. This has, among other contributions, led to what may well still be the most insightful brief survey of Roman emperorship, by Keith Hopkins.⁵⁹ But material culture (and especially iconographic developments) has likewise been employed to analyse

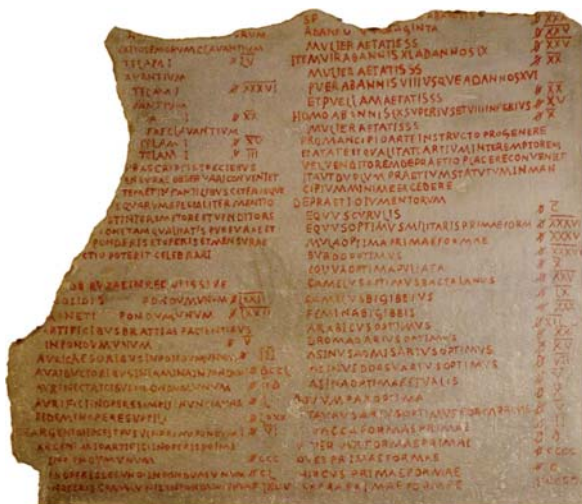


Fig. 11. Fragment Edict of Maximum Prices (photo M. Kabel, courtesy Pergamonmuseum, Berlin).

the construction of Roman ideology. The process has been greatly influenced by Paul Zanker's seminal *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*.⁶⁰ Zanker created a new - and highly influential - picture of Augustan ideology, using a multitude of sources, with prime positions for art and architecture. Following Zanker, many scholars have tried to amalgamate different types of sources into new coherent representations of Roman emperors.⁶¹ But one could pose methodological questions to this approach: does merging all kinds of different sources create a realistic image of ideologies and their background?

To an extent it does. Within individual reigns, central messages (or at least the visual representations of the reigning individuals) can be analysed through assembling a diversity of sources, whilst taking the historical contexts of the different sources into account. But the risk of the approach is that it fails to recognise the independent discourse that these types of sources adhere to a prolonged period of time. For example, there were conceptions on what ought to be on a coin, which over time became prescriptive for what is allowed on a coin. These conceptions differ from what could be expressed in a poem, or had to be stated in a panegyric. A useful comparison could be made to Roman orators: Conceptions about how these *ought* to move, behave and be dressed became prescriptive for how they *wanted* to move, behave, and be dressed, and indeed for how they *needed* to move, behave, and be dressed to be successful.⁶² Again, different rules apply to medallions, mosaics, or statues. There might be regional dif-

ferentiation, and historical developments do not necessarily follow the years of rule of individual historical figures. Not all types of sources were equally easy to adjust to individual ideological aims. Some resisted fashions much more than others. More generally: the different media through which individuals express their power, or in which reactions to those expressions figure, ought to be analysed through different 'filters' if the central point of attention is going to be historical processes, rather than historical individuals.

A specific example may clarify this. Take, for instance, the 'internal discourse' of Roman bathhouses. They were perfect buildings through which an emperor could show that he really cared for his people, and looking chronologically there is a rather obvious 'monumental inflation'. That is, any constructed building had to be more impressive than a previously constructed building with the same function. Thus the bathhouse made by Agrippa on the Campus Martius in 25 BC (and which was finished completely in 19 BC) was impressive,⁶³ but consecutive bathhouses had to be more impressive - larger, and richer in decoration - to show that an emperor cared as much. To state it somewhat crudely, building in Rome became a game of 'my building is bigger than your building'. This development needs to be kept in mind. For looking within an individual reign, one might want to argue that the massive bathhouse of Diocletian (AD 306), which - measuring 316 by 356 meter - could house approximately 3,000 people at any one time and was magnificently decorated,⁶⁴ betrays an insanely ambitious ruler, whose attempts to show the inhabitants of Rome how important they were, knew no bounds. However, the building - massive though it is - had to be this size to outdo the previous bathhouses,⁶⁵ and one ought not conclude more from it than that Diocletian was willing to play the building game. In fact, the city of Rome was sidelined during the Tetrarchy, partly because primacy of Rome could not cohere to the proclaimed lack of hierarchy amongst the Tetrarchs.⁶⁶

The specific building in question ought to be 'filtered' through the chronological development of the general type of building, before drawing conclusions from it. Similarly, there seems to have been an inflation of titulature, and an ever-increasing formalisation of what should be on central coinage.⁶⁷ The conventions in types of sources, thus, seem to follow their own developments. These developments ought to be charted before using coins and titles to make claims on the behaviour of individual rulers.

Importantly, also, for an analysis of the dynamics through which imperial images were constructed, a diachronic analysis of different media might allow for an independent assessment of those media which were strictly in the hands of the centre, and those which were much more influenced by the local level. Comparing some developments of imperial portraits on the obverses of coins issued at the centre (*Roman Imperial Coinage*) and at the local level (*Roman Provincial Coinage*) might be illustrative. Augustus' portrait, for instance, appears much later on provincial coins than on central coins (regularly only in the later part of the reign), and without clear geographic or chronological patterns - suggesting differently paced reactions from the elites in individual cities to what was formulated at the centre.⁶⁸ A later development, however, of presenting emperors as the new Alexander the Great originates on local coinage and is not taken up by central mints.⁶⁹ These local coins have been used as evidence for a reaction to Caracalla's (presumed) interest in Alexander,⁷⁰ but many of them also fit into long-standing local traditions, and some of the local coins which do not follow an established pattern actually predate Caracalla's sole reign. For instance, an important bronze from Cappadocian Caesarea dating from AD 197 figures a young Caracalla carrying a shield which depicts Alexander.⁷¹ It may suggest that elites in the Greek East tried to link Caracalla (who was travelling in the area at the time) to their local hero, to which the prince reacted positively, and later incorporated it into his self presentation.⁷²

In a similar way, chartering the development on central and provincial coinage of certain representational categories such as divine association, or dynastic or military representation might illustrate patterns which exceeded (and may indeed have limited) the choices of individual rulers - and indicate whether aberrations from these patterns originated from the emperor (and those surrounding him) or from his subjects.⁷³ In this way, it should become possible to trace the dynamics through which imperial imagery was created, and learn how rulers in the Roman world shaped, and imagined, their power.

NOTES

* Earlier versions of this article have been presented as my inaugural address at the Radboud University Nijmegen, as the Wiedemann Lecture (Classical Association Nottingham Branch), and also at research seminars of the University of Durham and the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster. Many thanks to the audi-

ences at these various institutions, to the critical referees for *BABESCH*, and especially to Jaś Elsner, who read and greatly improved an earlier draft.

- ¹ Note, for instance, how emperors routinely wrote to the senate stating 'I and the army are in good health'; Dio 69.14.3, Reynolds 1982, document 6, 12. This was at least noted by some: Favorinus allegedly stated that 'the most learned man is the one who has thirty legions'; HA, *Hadr.* 15.13; Philostratus, *VS* 489.
- ² Zosimus 1.49; HA, *Gallienus* 2.6; *Tyr. Trig.* 12.13; 14; 13.3. On the so-called crisis of the 3rd century, see now Potter 2004; Hekster 2008; John 2008.
- ³ Kienast 1996, 237; Okamura 1992, 103-109; Estiot/Salaün 2004; Abdy 2004; Morgan 2006.
- ⁴ Gilliam 1982.
- ⁵ Kienast 1996, 237.
- ⁶ Herodian 1.9.2-7; Hekster 2002, 63.
- ⁷ Dio, 64.6.1. Cf. Dio 60.22.3; 78.12.6 for the imperial destruction of coins by hated predecessors; Crump 1985, 430-431.
- ⁸ Dio 78.15.5.
- ⁹ *Cod. Theod.* 9.22; Lendon 1990, 115.
- ¹⁰ The literature on the battle, its aftermath and the importance of Actium in Augustan ideology is immense. See most recently, Lange 2009. Gurval 1995 remains fundamental.
- ¹¹ Zanker 1989, esp. 33-77; Hekster 2004.
- ¹² Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 2.4.29: *Sublimis Actiaca victoria re-vertebatur. Occurrit ei inter gratulantes corum tenens, quem instituerat haec dicere: Ave, Caesar victor imperator. Miratus Caesar officiosam avem viginti milibus nummorum emit. Socius opificis, ad quem nihil ex illa liberalitate pervenerat, adfirmavit Caesari habere illum et alium corum, quem ut adferre cogere rogavit. Adlatus verba quae didicerat expressit: Ave, victor imperator Antoni. Nihil exasperatus satis duxit iubere illum dividere donativum cum contubernali.*
- ¹³ Peppas-Delmousou 1979. The Greek reads: Σεβαστόν καίσαρα Νέον Ἀπόλλωνα. Though Νέον is a reconstruction, the only viable alternative is Θεόν, which expresses an even stronger divine claim. Cf. *SEG* 23 (1968), no 450 (Tiberius); *IG* II², 3278 (Nero).
- ¹⁴ See Suet. *Aug.* 70, for the probably apocryphal dinner party at which guests had dressed up like the Olympian gods. Apart from the fact that there is emphasis in the text that this was a secret party (for which the evidence by definition would be scant, if at all existent), there is the question which A.D. Nock asked ages ago: who would have played the role of Jupiter with Augustus playing Apollo?; cited by Charlesworth 1933, 175, n. 2.
- ¹⁵ Pollini 1990, 349-350 with fig. 18.
- ¹⁶ On this image, see e.g.: Galinsky 1996, 10-20; 80-90; Rich/Williams 1999; Millar 2000, 1-30.
- ¹⁷ *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 34.3: *Post id tempus auctoritate omnibus praestiti, potestatis autem nihilo amplius habui quam ceteri qui mihi quoque in magistratu conlegae fuerunt.* On the *Res Gestae* see still the excellent Brunt/Moore 1969; now also Cooley 2009. See furthermore Alföldy 1991; Alföldy 2003, 3-19; Elsner 1996. On the settlements see still Jones 1960, 1-17, and also Rich/Williams 1999.
- ¹⁸ *RGDA* 19-20; Hekster/Rich 2006.
- ¹⁹ Pollini 1990, 338. Cf. Pollini 1993; Zwierlein-Diehl 2009.
- ²⁰ The cameo, of course, is no evidence for a central image of the emperor as explicitly divine. Augustus holds the *lituus*, and receives one of Tiberius' victory, in a reenactment of an actual victory celebration, though the

- exact date is disputed (Koortbojian 2006, 207; Kuttner 1995, 188). His elevation over the imprisoned captives, furthermore, can be explained by Roman visual traditions in depicting 'bound and humiliated enemy captives' (Hölscher 2003, 12; Dillon 2006, 264). The emperor's heroic nudity, however, and the presence of Jupiter's eagle shows a status far beyond that of his subjects. Cf. Koortbojian 2006, 208 on 'the new, effectively "monarchical" status of the *princeps* with respect to the religious institutions'.
- ²¹ On private images and reception in Augustan art, see Zanker 1983 and Zanker 2000; Elsner 1995, 159-172.
- ²² Cf. the wonderful analysis of the way the imagery on the Ara Pacis may have appealed to 'ordinary Romans' in Clarke 2003, 19-28.
- ²³ Julian, *Caes.* 309A-B: 'Ὀκταβιανὸς ἐπεισέρχεται πολλὰ ἀμείβων, ὥσπερ οἱ χαμαιλέοντες, χρώματα καὶ νῦν μὲν ὠχρίων, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐρυθρὸς γινόμενος, εἴτα μέλας καὶ ζοφώδης καὶ συννεφής· ἀνιέτο δ' αὐτὸς εἰς Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Χάριτας.
- ²⁴ Vespasian: Levick 1999, 73; Trajan: Kleiner 1992, 208; Hadrian: Kneissl 1969, 94.
- ²⁵ RIC II, 236, 291 nos. 663-668, 317, 358-365, nos. 146-223. From 125 AD the emperor was simply HADRIANUS AUGUSTUS, which makes an interesting comparison with his predecessor TRAIANUS OPTIMUS AUGUSTUS GERMANICUS DACICUS PARTHICUS PONTIFEX MAXIMUS TRIBUNICIA POTESTAS CONSUL PATER PATRIAE.
- ²⁶ Kneissl 1969, 89, 94.
- ²⁷ Arrian, *Perip. M. Eux.* 1.3-4. Cf. Zanker 1983, 7; Ando 2000, 229.
- ²⁸ Hadrian in the East: *BMCRE* III, cxxiv, cxxvi. On imperial coinage as propaganda, and the direct influence of the emperor, see Levick 1999b, 41-60.
- ²⁹ Cf. this to the notions developed by Stuart Hall on representation in more general terms, e.g. Hall 1997.
- ³⁰ For Caligula, see Barrett 1989; Winterling 2003. For Nero, Elsner/Masters 1994; Champlin 2003. For Commodus, Hekster 2002; Von Saldern 2003. For Elagabalus, Sommer 2004; Icks 2008.
- ³¹ Cf. Hekster 2005, 157-176.
- ³² Rose 1997, 73. Neronian inscriptions: *CIL* 16.4 (= *ILS* 1987); followed throughout the realm, e.g. *CIL* 2.4926, 4928, 4884, 4719, 4734; 3.346, 382, 6123; 7.12; 10.8014; 11.1331, 6955.
- ³³ Dio 73.22-4-6; Herodian 1.16-17; *HA, Commodus*, 17.1-2, with Hekster 2002, 160-161.
- ³⁴ For the notion of the *Principate*, and especially the creation of imperial legitimacy, functioning as a system of 'acceptance' by various groups, in which gaining acceptance from army, urban plebs and senate was sufficient (and indeed the only way) to become a legitimate Roman emperor, see Flaig 1992.
- ³⁵ Divine sanction is one such mode, as seems to be suggested by Commodus' emphasis on the *providentia deorum* which led to his accession. The message appears from AD 180 to 184 without interruption on coins of all denominations, and is even mentioned in the Arval Acts (for the first time in Roman history) in AD 183; Martin 1982, 339-340 with references; Scheid 1998, 265 no 94 (= *CIL* 6.2099), III 15-18. The gods guaranteed his birth (and survival) and where thus responsible for his rule. Alternatively, Champlin 2003 suggestively argues that Nero purposefully 'staged' his actions and images in a mythological context to rise 'above normal human constraints' (p. 237).
- ³⁶ Kleiner 1992, 172-173.
- ³⁷ See especially the comments in *Roman Gold from Finstock* (Ashmolean Museum Exhibiton 2003), on the last-minute adaptation of a Vespasianic coin type mentioning *Pietas* to one mentioning *Iustitia*, following the destruction of the Jewish Temple (as argued in a forthcoming publication by C. Howgego).
- ³⁸ Stewart 2003, 1-7. The notion of a 'second population' was coined by Cassiodorus in the 6th century (*Variae* 7.15); cited by the insightful Edwards 2003, 44.
- ³⁹ Zanker 1983; Trillmich 1993.
- ⁴⁰ Fittschen 1979; Fleischer 2008. Cf. Rose 1997, 53, Schumacher 2008, esp. 153-157.
- ⁴¹ For references, see above n. 2.
- ⁴² Manders/Hekster (forthcoming).
- ⁴³ See esp. Kemmers 2006, 219-244; Wolters 2003; Levick 1999b. Cf. Cheung 1998 for some reservations.
- ⁴⁴ Kolb 1987. Most recently: Rees 2004.
- ⁴⁵ Rees 2005.
- ⁴⁶ Most explicitly in the splendid L'Orange 1984. A more nuanced version is Walden 1990.
- ⁴⁷ Rees 1993, 184 pl. 2, 193, 194-195 pl. 9-10; Smith 1997, 181-183. Cf. Laubscher 1993, 1999.
- ⁴⁸ *RIC* 5.2, 223, 262, 297, 304. *Concordia* was one of the most common cointypes from the reign of Nero onwards, and was continuously (and vainly) proclaimed by many 3rd-century rulers: De Blois 1998, 3403, 3442. Cf. Davies 1985; Smith 1997, 183; Rees, 1993, 193; Kleiner 1992, 403-4.
- ⁴⁹ *Pan. Lat* 10(2), 11.1, with Rees 2002, 61-63; Treggiari 1991, 252. Cf. now also Boymel Kampen 2009, 104-122, esp. 110-119.
- ⁵⁰ Elsner 1995, 173-176. Smith 1997, 180-181.
- ⁵¹ Bellinger et al. 1964, nos 9-19; Kent/Hirmer/Hirmer 1978, nos 583, 585.
- ⁵² On date and author, see Nixon/Rodgers 1994, 41-43.
- ⁵³ Rees 2004, 75.
- ⁵⁴ See for an analysis of the historical and ideological context in which the panegyric was delivered Leadbetter 2004, 260-264.
- ⁵⁵ On this 'second-guessing' and emphasis on sincerity, see Bartsch 1994, 148-87.
- ⁵⁶ Cf. Mayer 2002, 7-10.
- ⁵⁷ Corcoran 2000, 232-3, 297; Ermatinger 1990.
- ⁵⁸ Corcoran 2000, 207-13, with references on 207 n. 10.
- ⁵⁹ Hopkins 1978, 197-242. Real progress in the comparative approach is made by recent comparisons between ancient Rome and China, as exemplified by Mutschler/Mittag 2008. There seem fewer advantages to the application of psychology on our biased texts, as attempted by Southern 1997, 119-125.
- ⁶⁰ Originally published as Zanker 1987, based on his 1983 Jerome Lectures. The notion of a Roman 'Bildprogramm', is likewise (semantically) presented by Hölscher 1987. For more recent views, see Hölscher 2000.
- ⁶¹ See, e.g., Elsner/Masters 1994, 112-127; Hekster 2002; Icks 2008.
- ⁶² Gunderson 1998, 177-182; Corbeill 2002, 188-90, 208-9.
- ⁶³ Ghini 1999.
- ⁶⁴ Candilio 1999.
- ⁶⁵ Piranomonte 1999; LaFollette 1999; Palombi 1999. Cf. DeLaine 1997; DeLaine 2000.
- ⁶⁶ Hekster 1999; Curran 2000, 5-25, 43-69.
- ⁶⁷ Kneissl 1969. Cf. Bergmann 1998 for an analysis of the development and standardisation of the radiant crown in Roman imperial representation on statuary and in coinage.

- ⁶⁸ RPC I, 38-40; Heuchert 2005, 44.
⁶⁹ Harl 1987, 40; Dahmen 2007, 20-38.
⁷⁰ On Caracalla's alignment to Alexander see Herodian 4.8.1-2; Dio 78.7.1-4; *HA, M.Ant.* 2.2; Baharal 1994; Salzmann 2001.
⁷¹ SNG Aulock no 6506, pl. 222; Salzmann 2001, 181, 188, pl. 26.1-2; Dahmen 2007, 34, 142-143, pl. 25.
⁷² Cf. also the spectacular series of coins and medallions issued by Thracian Philippopolis commemorating the *Pythia Alexandraia* and later medallions from Aboukir and Tarsos; Dahmen 2008.
⁷³ On a useful division of third-century coin types in representational categories, see Manders 2007, esp. 289-290, appendix 1. The NWO-funded project 'Emperors and ancestors: the creation of an imperial image', which takes place at the Radboud University Nijmegen, in fact aims to charter the developments of dynastic representation through an analysis (in four interrelated sub-projects) of imperial coinage, provincial coinage, official proclamation and historical writings.

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Public architecture and urban living in the Roman city

The example of the forum of Timgad

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Abstract

*The Roman imperial forum is a potent symbol of imperial authority and a key setting for the study of elite funded building-work. However, its interpretation as a monument at the centre of dynamics of elite social competition does not offer a comprehensive understanding of its surviving remains. This article proposes to enrich our view of this space by introducing the space-shaping role of urban-living. This is demonstrated through a re-interpretation of the forum of Timgad, in which a data-review will describe key processes that contributed to its present appearance. The re-interpretation of the genesis of this forum will show it to be 'fragmented' by urban-living and offer a new reading of the remains of fora in Roman Africa and in the empire at large.**

INTRODUCTION

Any scholar interested in exploring the space of the forum in the Roman Empire will not fail to notice how a great part of past and present research is focussed on a specific approach to this civic space: one concerned with monumentality and elite activity. This view has had a fundamental role in outlining the intrinsic connection of this urban space with the Roman cultural and political experience. It has allowed us to gain precious insight into the connections with Greek and Hellenistic monuments and the dynamics of patronage, propaganda and social competition that are fundamental to its formation.

This view of the imperial forum has been accompanied, in turn, by an evolutionary approach to its built form, which privileged an understanding based on typological classification. The merits of this approach are indisputable, as they have allowed us to link change in the space of the forum to historical and cultural shifts occurring to key sections of Roman society. Particularly important among them is the monumental representation of imperial authority, which has found in the *forum* one of its more representative examples.¹ However, this evolutionary line of interpretation has been shown to not be entirely capable of engaging with many questions that have risen with the discovery and improved knowledge of many fora located throughout the empire.²

In this article I advance new thinking on the subject of fora by arguing the need to rebalance our focus on these spaces by viewing them as

parts of a living town and, as such, subject to change and to the influence of a richer variety of social actors than those traditionally included in the interpretation of fora.³ I will do so by proposing a re-interpretation of the forum of Timgad, a nodal example of monumental public space in Roman Africa and in the Roman world at large. On the strength of this re-interpretation I will argue the need to acknowledge fora as monumental units that are fragmented by the fluid process that is town life. I will offer this as an interpretative key to better understand the form and function of these monuments as components of the living Roman townscape.

THE MONUMENT-FORUM AND ITS DISCONTENTS

The forum of Timgad belongs to a group of African fora which scholars have found difficult to insert into type-based narratives of the public space. Both earlier and later works have strived to seek parallels between these spaces and others located in the north western provinces of the empire.⁴ These attempts have consistently run into difficulties caused by the absence of a close adherence of African fora to models identified elsewhere. These models were the result of a line of research concerned with the study of provincial fora as instruments for imperial propaganda and based on a format that had reached maturity under the reign of Augustus.⁵ This format is represented by the so-called tripartite forum (or Gallo-Roman *forum*) distinguished by being a single complex in which temple and *basilica* were located at the two

shorter ends of a rectangular and porticoed *area*. Their form, regularity, and symmetry were also particularly suited to new town foundations as they could be easily inserted in their orthogonal street grids.

The issues emerging from comparisons of African *fora* with key examples of the tripartite forum model concern a number of different issues related to their appearance. One of these is represented by the relative imbalance caused by a greater emphasis on religious building. This distinguishes *fora* such as those of Rougga, Sufetula, Gighthis, Thugga and Thuburbo Maius.⁶ Another exception is represented by a small group of *fora* located in Mauretania Tingitana, which are distinguished by the presence of a characteristic elevated and columned building which does not find clear contextual parallels elsewhere in the empire.⁷ Finally, a group of *fora* is distinguished by an overall lack of symmetry and regularity in shape and building arrangement (or, more concisely, by unevenness). Examples are the *fora* of Cuicul and Timgad.⁸

In his recent reclassification of forum types and in reference to such anomalies, J.Ch. Balty has declared that: 'L'Afrique du Nord, pour une raison qui m'échappe encore entièrement, je l'avoue, ne s'est pas ralliée à ces formules.'⁹ Attempts to resolve the different issues posed by this lack of adherence to identified forms have revolved around emphasizing either regionality or common empire-wide denominators concerning the forum as a monument. The issue of the religious character of some of these *fora* has been addressed in a context of regional change of architectural forms by S.I. Ammar, who has identified this as characteristic of *fora* built between the 1st and 2nd century AD, but especially of *fora* of the Antonine period.¹⁰ Similarly, the elevated columned buildings present in the *fora* of Sala, Banasa and Volubilis and not typical in the architectural configuration of *fora*, have been interpreted as temples of Mauretanian tradition and, therefore, as the expression of a strong regional cultural input.¹¹ Such an interpretation has been opposed by Euzennat and Hallier, who have interpreted the buildings as derived directly from Roman military planning, similarly to other highly militarised provinces such as Germania and Britannia.¹² In their thinking, these civic spaces would follow the general model identified as *lagerforum* or *principia*-type forum, which appears to reflect closer formal links to its military origins.¹³ Lastly, the most difficult challenges have been posed by *fora* which do not appear to develop from a unitary plan but to spread in the urban framework in a piecemeal fashion. This causes a

specific problem for scholars interested in *fora* as spaces produced according to empire-wide templates, as these spaces are the clear result of a series of separate building activities. Their presence in the urban landscape obliges a reflection on the dynamics causing their inhomogeneous appearance. Such reflection has the power to challenge our current view of the imperial forum as it introduces the possibility of there being differently motivated agents of change where we used to see one (imperial symbolism mediated by building design).

In one respect the issue of multiple agents of creation has already emerged in the context of *fora* such as that at Glanum (*fig. 1*). Here, a clear piecemeal development, outlined by the particular distribution of forum components and by their accurate dating (obtained through re-excavation) demonstrated the difficulties of including Glanum among the group of so-called tripartite *fora*. The space in question has been shown to be adapted to a difficult terrain and to have been built in separate sections. The problem of harmonizing this space with the wider group of tripartite *fora*, planned and built as single monuments, was resolved by Gros and Varène as depending on the varying availability of local elite funding power:

'Un tel échelonnement chronologique n'est pas sans signification historique. Il montre, sur un cas privilégié, que le nouvel urbanisme impérial n'est pas sorti tout armé de l'esprit des responsables et de leurs équipes d'architectes, dès les premières années du Principat. Si la définition des finalités s'avère assez claire dès le début du règne, leur mise en œuvre semble obéir à une hiérarchie des urgences, dictée en grande partie sans doute, mais pas uniquement, par les possibilités financières.'¹⁴

While such an interpretation kept the forum of Glanum connected to the central theme of Augustan power and symbolism (seen as key to the development of the tripartite forum) it also showed that material evidence was starting to uncover the need for a review of research approaches to the study of *fora*. Evidence had begun to become more structured and revealed spaces with a fundamental diachronic and, therefore, local dimension. In this sense, the forum of Glanum was profoundly symbolic of how deeply our understanding of the imperial forum had to be shifted. In a later review dictated by the weight of stratigraphic evidence, Gros indicates the view of *fora* in their unitary 'tripartite' form as requiring re-examination 'in

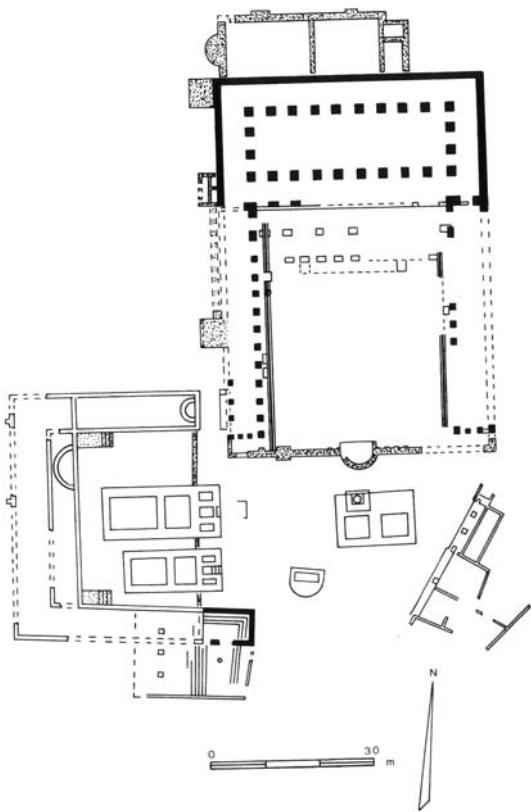


Fig. 1. Multiphase plan of the forum of Glanum (Roth-Congès, A. 1992, *Nouvelles fouilles à Glanum* (1982-1990), JRA 5, 54) reprinted by permission of A. Roth-Congès and the *Journal of Roman Archaeology*.

funzione di dati regionali e cronologici ben precisi, che almeno in parte restituiscono la complessità e il dinamismo interno dell'intero processo.¹⁵

In the specific case of Africa, efforts have been made by Gros to address similar anomalies. In an article centred on the fora of Timgad and Cuicul (fig. 2), the scholar offered a new and incisive interpretation.¹⁶ In his analysis of these sites, the problem of combining the ideologically charged forum monument with the remains found *in situ* is solved by proposing forum unevenness as the result of a purposefully conceived plan. The intention of this plan was to mirror the appearance of Republican fora (which resulted from piecemeal building initiatives added to an existing central open space) and, in so doing, to celebrate the autonomy of the Republican municipal elite.¹⁷ Greatest among the merits of this interpretation is that of firmly establishing local context as a key factor in determining the appearance of these

monumental spaces. Gros accepts that the forum of Timgad contains elements built at different stages and reconnects this to his past interpretation of the forum of Glanum. According to this view, both public spaces are viewed as products of an existing and seemingly unchangeable *plan régulateur*, a framework that reconnects traditional scholarship with the issue of the gradual construction of these spaces; if a variation is planned it is still traceable to an authority and can therefore be reconnected with established themes in imperial and elite power and propaganda.

Change, however, when verified, reveals the monument forum to be a more complicated object, especially in light of the complex set of functions found within its confines (commerce being probably the best known) and the changes at a smaller scale that can be identified in its material exploration. These two elements raise two crucial questions: first, how far can a space such as the forum, the centre of communal activities such as commerce and the exercise of law, be second to the monument forum, devoted to delivering a complex array of power-related symbols? Second, how far-ranging is a view of the forum limited to elite activity, when we are aware of both the existence of non-elite activity taking place within its confines and of the fact that elite display practices necessitate, in a context of social stratification, a non-elite audience?

In order to answer these questions we need to re-examine key processes that lead to the formation of fora as they appear to us today and to be open to the possibility of non-elite activity having the potential to influence the formation of these spaces. This may be done through a reassessment of the evidence we possess for the forum of Timgad.

THE FORUM OF TIMGAD; A NEW INTERPRETATION

The forum of Timgad is located along the *Decumanus Maximus* of the Numidian colonia (fig. 3). The forum is of irregular shape, as its eastern side is harmoniously inserted into the town grid, while the alignment of the *area*, *porticus* (with the exception of its western side) and *basilica* is shifted southwards by an angle of three degrees.¹⁸ The forum is located on the upper edge of a part of the town which naturally slopes northwards.¹⁹ Its space is organised around a central *area* surrounded by a *porticus* onto which open a *basilica*, a *curia*, a temple, two rows of shops and a room which has yet to be clearly identified.²⁰ The date of construction of this forum, and of any alterations, is little understood because of a lack of sufficiently accu-

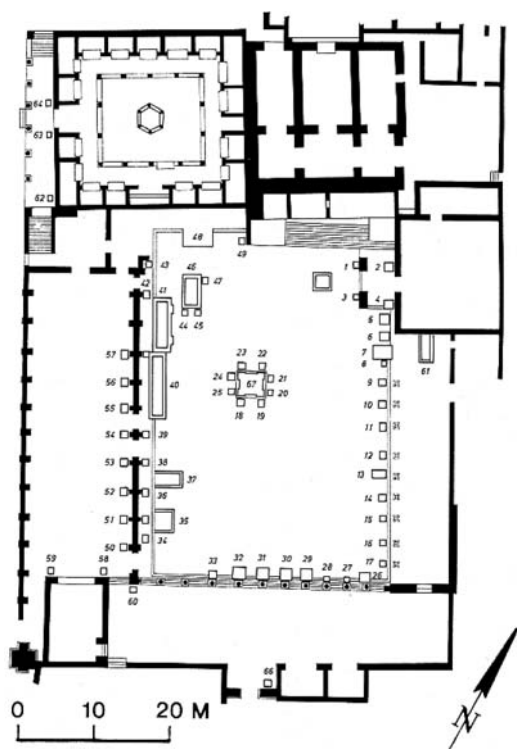


Fig. 2.1. The forum of Cuicul (Zimmer 1989).

rate data. Two statue bases found in the *curia* and judged to be *in situ*, allow us to set AD 117 as the *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the *curia* itself.²¹ This date, however, should not be accepted as that of the construction of the forum in its present appearance, as we are aware of changes made to a crucial part of this space. These concern the buildings to the immediate south of the *curia*, reported to be out-of-character because of their more modest make-up and to have been 'fortement remaniée à une époque postérieure'.²² Therefore, the *curia* and the building to its immediate south strongly suggest that the present appearance of the forum of Timgad is the result of a number of separate building processes, rather than a single one.

The location of the *curia* within the space of the forum is noteworthy, as it occupies an autonomous space outside the *basilica*. Most importantly, this forum is not arranged according to the rules of symmetry and axuality typical of fora of the imperial period. As mentioned above, Gros has proposed to recognize in this irregularity the result of a purposefully produced *plan régulateur*.²³ There may be, however, another interpretation of this space based on recognizing change as a factor of greater importance for the genesis of this monu-

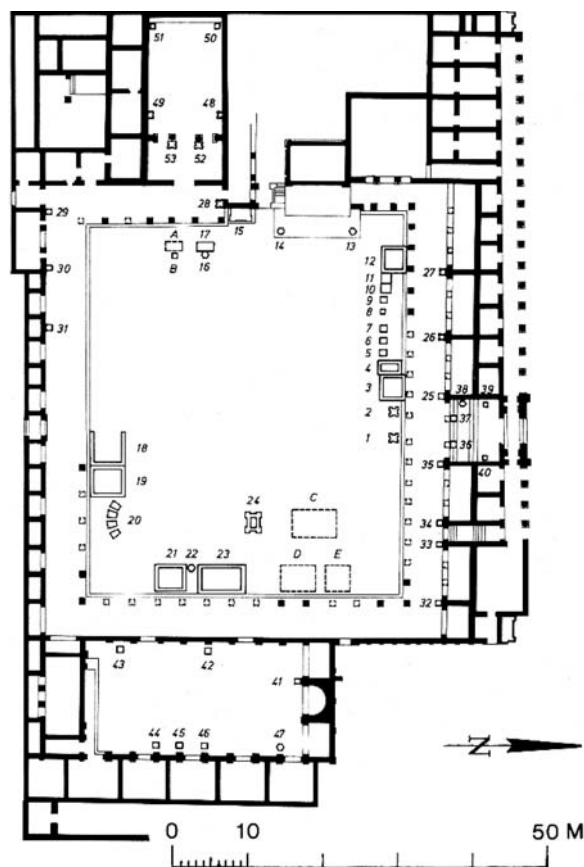


Fig. 2.2. The forum of Timgad (Zimmer 1989).

mental component of the Roman town. In order to do so I will analyse the space of the forum of Timgad through plans of the city and records produced at the time of its original excavation. Through a comparison between the town grid and the space of the forum I will outline elements that would fit the rigid insertion of the space within a strict planning strategy of the city. The result will be to uncover features of the present forum as pertaining to an earlier structure and to explain, in connection with existing data, the dynamics that are more likely to have brought change to its original design.

On the basis of the strict application of symmetry and axuality that we see commonly applied in new forum foundations throughout the empire, we need to test the civic space of Timgad for evidence of the existence of symmetry as a rule guiding its planning and construction. The strict axuality organizing the street grid of Timgad could then be used as a tool to test the existence of an original forum plan designed to respect such division. This can be done by comparing the detailed

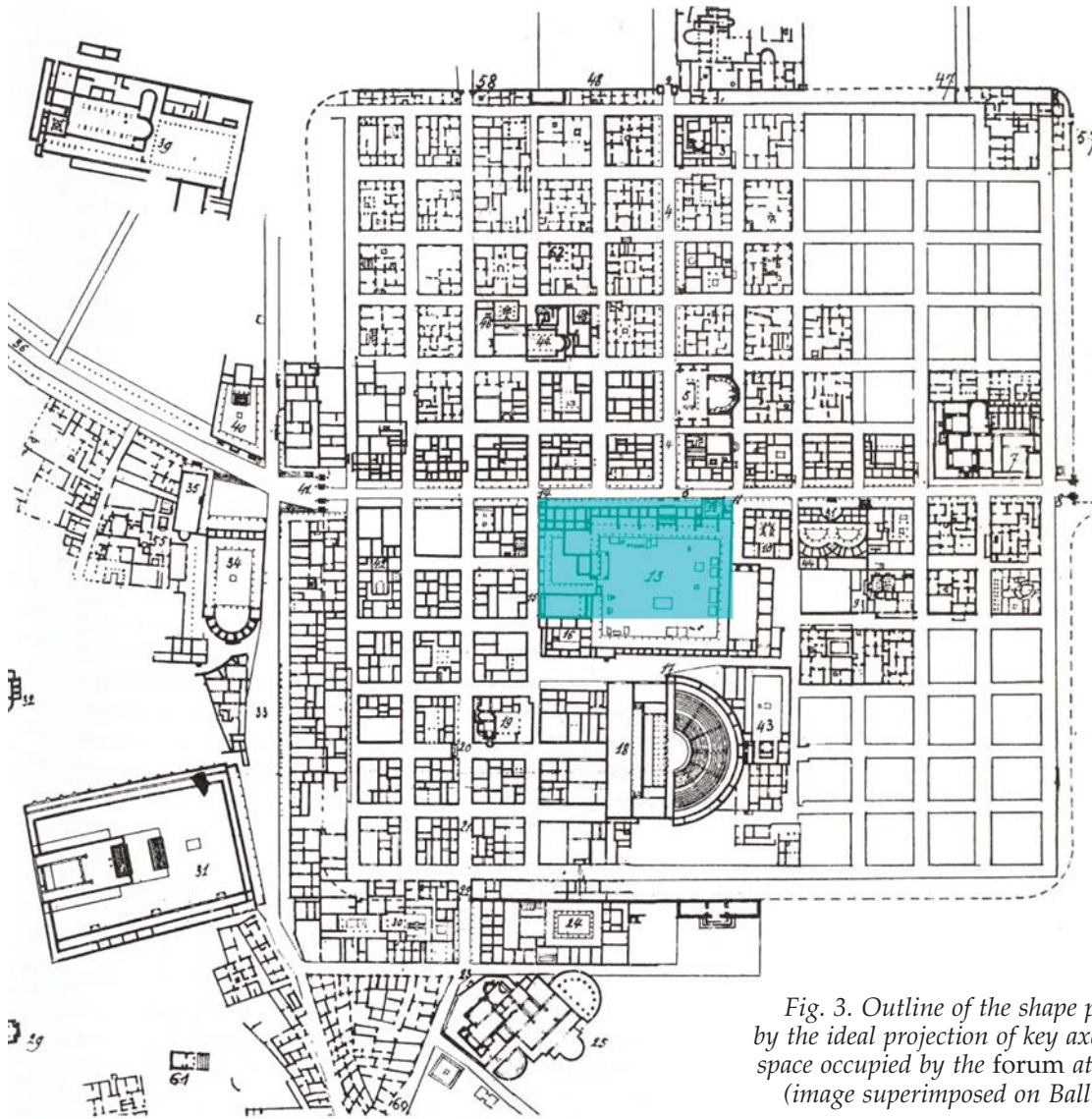


Fig. 3. Outline of the shape produced by the ideal projection of key axes in the space occupied by the forum at Timgad (image superimposed on Ballu 1910).

plan of the forum produced by Ballu in 1902 to the town's street grid.²⁴ By superimposing the axes of the *colonia* across the space of the forum, we can see a division with very clear and significant visual connections to the western side of the civic space, where *curia* and temple are located (fig. 3).

In particular, the space of the *curia*, temple (including the square enclosure behind it), square building and adjacent block of shops fronting the *Decumanus Maximus*, appear to form a spatially organic whole (fig. 4). This is distinguished as a rectangle (A) perfectly enclosed by the projection of the *cardines* and *decumani* of the street grid (together with the side which is tangential to the *Decumanus Maximus*) and is the only part of the forum which respects, in full, the town's orthog-

onal division. This division is not emphasized only by the projection of the street grid, but also through visible structures, as the buildings to the south of the *curia* demonstrate very clearly. These are composed of a building located to the southern end of the forum (B), which was conceived separately from the space of the temple and *curia*. Their separate conception has already transpired from the original records.²⁵ In plan this is confirmed by the misalignment of the building's western and eastern sides with respect to the outer edges of the *curia*.²⁶ Furthermore, the *curia* and this southern building are separated by a number of rooms developing linearly and occupying the same width of the street mirrored by its edges (C). This striking connection, united to evidence of a

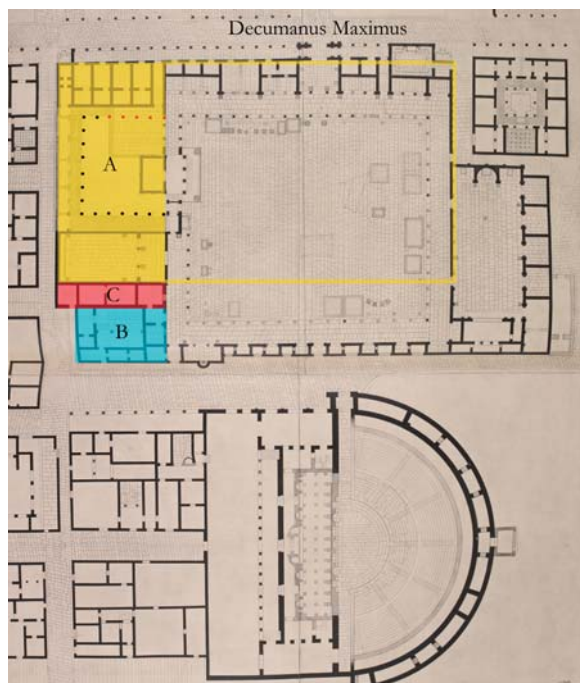


Fig. 4. Outline of the key components of the earlier forum at Timgad; A (in yellow) shows the outline of the key elements of the earlier forum. B is the building added to the forum in a later phase. C is the blocked road-section, transformed into a building of four rooms (image superimposed on Ballu 1902).

later construction date,²⁷ strongly suggests a succession of building events leading to the blockage of a road-section and its transformation into rooms. This differentiation confirms the existence of a chronological succession of events that brings together buildings that were conceived separately.

The rectangular space (A) is also subdivided symmetrically as its northern and southern ends are occupied by the *curia* and a block of shops opening on to the *Decumanus Maximus*. These two (the block of shops has a greater depth than the others extending along the *Decumanus Maximus* and is therefore distinct from them) share the same rectangular shape, broad size and orientation.²⁸ Furthermore, the temple, which is located within space A, is placed at its precise centre. That is to say it is equidistant from the *curia* and the block of shops and, most significantly, is located exactly along the projected extension of the *decumanus* crossing the centre of the space. By further extending this space to include the side of the forum that is parallel to the *Decumanus Maximus* (and therefore orthogonal to the large rectangular space and its component parts), it is possible to draw the

edges of a larger enclosure extending eastwards. This new space is equal to the measure of four more *insulae* and stops to the south, along the projected edge of the *decumanus* blocked by the linear building B. The resulting outline appears to be that of a forum originally built in strict accordance with the orthogonal division of the *colonia*. This represents the plan of an earlier, if not the earliest, forum of Timgad.²⁹ Despite the limited amount of available information, and in the absence of further excavation, it is possible to argue that the design of the earlier forum developed from a symmetrical layout. This layout was based around a religious building or probably even the earliest presence of a *basilica*, outlined by the edges of space A. This shape would be entirely compatible with examples known among those of the western provinces of the Empire and particularly in Africa, in which fora are typically distinguished by a strong religious element.³⁰ One example of this type that is chronologically and geographically close to Timgad is the forum of the *municipium* of Gigthis, in Africa Proconsularis (fig. 5).³¹ Within this plan type, the rectangle formed by temple, *curia* and block of shops reflects in shape, size and location a tripartite organization of civic and religious space that we find throughout the western provinces.³² The different widths of *curia* and block of shops (slightly problematic in the interpretation of an initial forum centred on symmetry) can be reconciled through the examination of the courtyard located behind the forum temple. Cagnat hesitated to define this space, saying 'peut-être faut-il voir un promenoir pour les membres du conseil municipal, qui y accédaient directement, en sortant de la curie, et comme un annexe de la salle des séances'.³³ The reasons for Cagnat's uncertainty are most likely to lie in his view of this space as integral to the plan of the whole forum and therefore meant to extend asymmetrically (a characteristic which we have already acknowledged to be anomalous in the context of imperial forum plans). However, clear evidence connects this space to its temple, *curia* and group of shops in an entirely different way.

Again, we can acquire a different view by hypothesizing the pre-existence of a rigid symmetry in the whole space A and its components. This can be achieved by projecting the plan of the *curia* and of the adjacent section of the *porticus* to the northern side of the space. The result is to produce the outline of the original plan of a *triporticus* integrated in the plan of the temple (fig. 4). The projection is not merely hypothetical, as both the present internal *porticus* of the forum and a wall

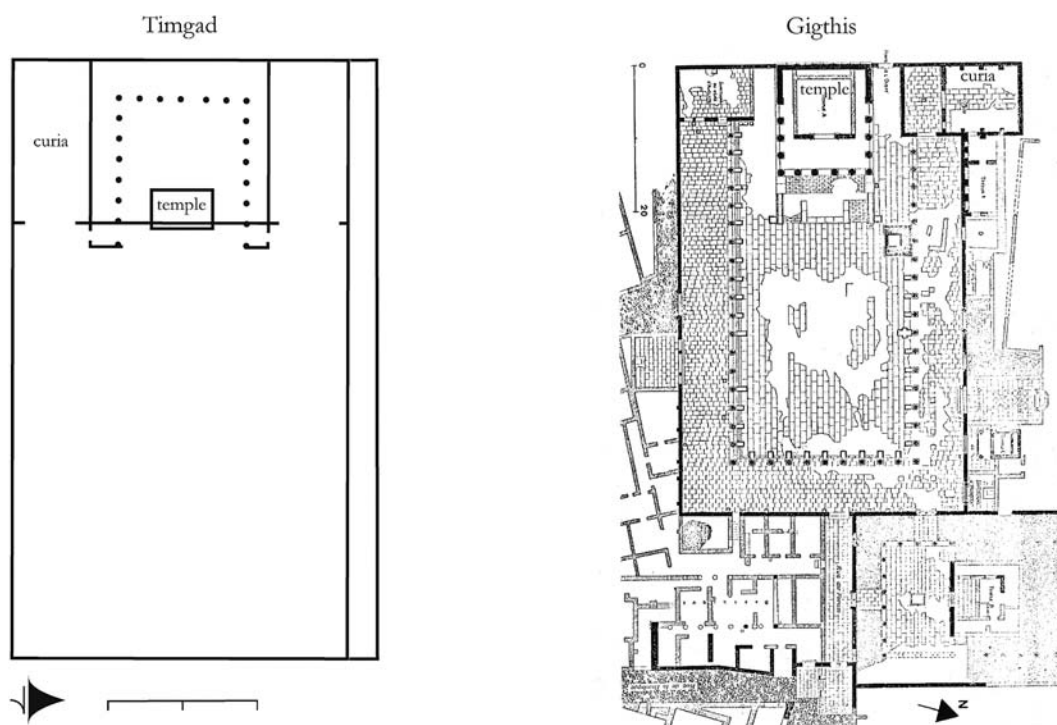


Fig. 5. Comparative plans of the earlier forum at Timgad (author) and the forum of Gighthis (Constans 1916).

located at the back of the temple's *triporticus* mirror its outline, thus constituting evidence for the existence of this side of the *triporticus* itself. Furthermore, a similar interpretation of the genesis of this space is offered by Ballu in his earlier description of the forum of Timgad.³⁴ The space in question can therefore be redefined as a type of architectural space typical of fora of the imperial period (or at least of the type that appears to be prevalent in Africa). If our understanding of the original *triporticus* is correct it also has an important implication for our interpretation of the spatial relationship of the *curia* and shops. By establishing the northern edge of the *triporticus* we obtain the original edge of the space which encloses the four shops and mirrors exactly the dimensions of the *curia*.

The eastern end of the old forum does not offer the same wealth of information as is available for the western end. It would therefore seem to have acted only as the boundary of the civic space, as the religious and civic elements were all located on the western side from the beginning. As a consequence, it can be presumed that this side terminated along the edge marked by the northern corner of the present forum and that it consisted of a simple *porticus*. The possibility of the original entrance being

located on this side of the old forum is unlikely given the position of the civic space in connection with the main porticoed axes of the *colonia*.

The chance to contrast the later and earlier forms of the civic space of Timgad gives us further insight into the *stimuli* behind its change. A section of the forum of particular interest for these processes is its northern side, a point of junction between the forum and the *Decumanus Maximus* of the *colonia* (fig. 6).

Important for the analysis of this section of the Numidian forum are again the properties of axuality and symmetry, used to discover the plan of its earlier foundation. In addition to these we must add an element which appears continuous in forum foundations of the imperial period, the repetition of constant spatial modules in the construction of commercial space. On the interface between the forum and the *Decumanus Maximus* at Timgad we can read symmetry, axuality, and regular spacing in the rooms (with the exclusion of those in space D) that are integral to the forum but open onto the *Decumanus Maximus*. These are of the same width (just larger than one intercolumniation) and are organized according to a single scheme formed of groups of two rooms covering the distance of three intercolumniations. The plan-

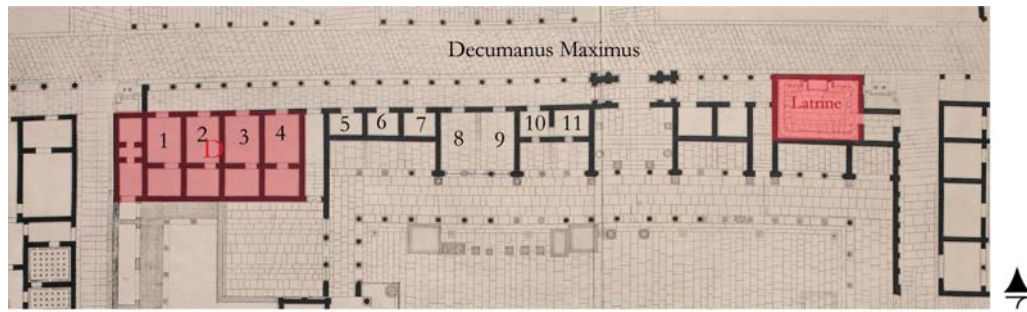


Fig. 6. Detailed view of the northern side of the forum of Timgad (image superimposed on Ballu 1902).

ned unity of this group of spaces is further outlined by the added rooms located at their western and eastern ends. These appear to break the rhythm of such uniform space, but effectively underline it by being located and spaced in connection with the eastern and western sections of the internal *porticus* of the forum. These rooms are therefore integral to the original plan of the northern side of the forum of Timgad.

The filtering operation necessary to outline this original plan shows, in turn, a number of differing elements which are part of the present state of this section of the forum. These are represented by the presence of a latrine on the eastern end and by the access route between two rooms (numbered 10 and 11 by Ballu) sharing a single entrance. A further element connected with these is represented by the rooms in space D, which I have already associated with patterns of use of the *Decumanus Maximus* but which also visibly shares key characteristics (such as room width) with all other rooms located along the same stretch of road. The latrine is a structure erected in a space covering both the ideal continuation of the *porticus* along the *Decumanus Maximus* and the space of just over one of the original planned groups of two rooms. Its construction, therefore, at the same time follows and breaks the original organization of this side of the forum. The conjunction of rooms 10 and 11 is structured very similarly, as its connecting access route and single entrance define a different space formed of the union of two rooms which are in perfect harmony with the main plan. The rooms in space D behave slightly differently, as they are spatially related to both the forum-*Decumanus Maximus* interface and the civic area composed by forum temple and *curia*. While the space in which they are enclosed forms part of the original plan of the administrative section of the forum, their width and internal division are similar to those in all the other rooms located along the *Decumanus Maximus*.³⁵

These three examples are crucial for our understanding of the processes involved in the transformation of the forum of Timgad. Firstly, all three show evidence that suggests very strongly a material change born out of the regular structure of the original forum. Secondly, the character of the change taking place in the first two examples is markedly different from the one taking place in space D. While the latrines and rooms 10-11 are the results of transformations taking place in a space that does not change substantially, the order of processes which result in the creation of the rooms in space D is radical. Changes occurring here are not only altering the space, but go as far as re-orienting its access route, thus completely altering the balance in symmetry of the original plan. Evidence for the type of activity taking place in these spaces is limited to the presence of rings onto which animals would be tied and to that of *mortaria*, thus suggesting some of these may have been workshops with possible living quarters.³⁶ These activities (which maintain a vital commercial link) are certainly compatible with the idea of a busy *Decumanus Maximus* along which we have other traces of a rich and expanding commercial element. Furthermore, the presence of latrines has long been connected with areas of more intense traffic and, therefore, provides further evidence of the presence of an increase in the intensity of use of the *Decumanus Maximus*.³⁷

Change here is relevant to activity taking place along the *Decumanus Maximus*, an axis of fundamental importance to the connection between Timgad and the network of forts forming the Trajanic military occupation of the areas of the interior of Numidia.³⁸ The favourable position of the *colonia*, both in terms of land choice and connections with the nearby forts of Lambaesis and Mascula, made it an ideal foundation for veterans of the army seeking to commercialise their agricultural produce.³⁹ The town's economic prosperity is attested by its development, which occurs

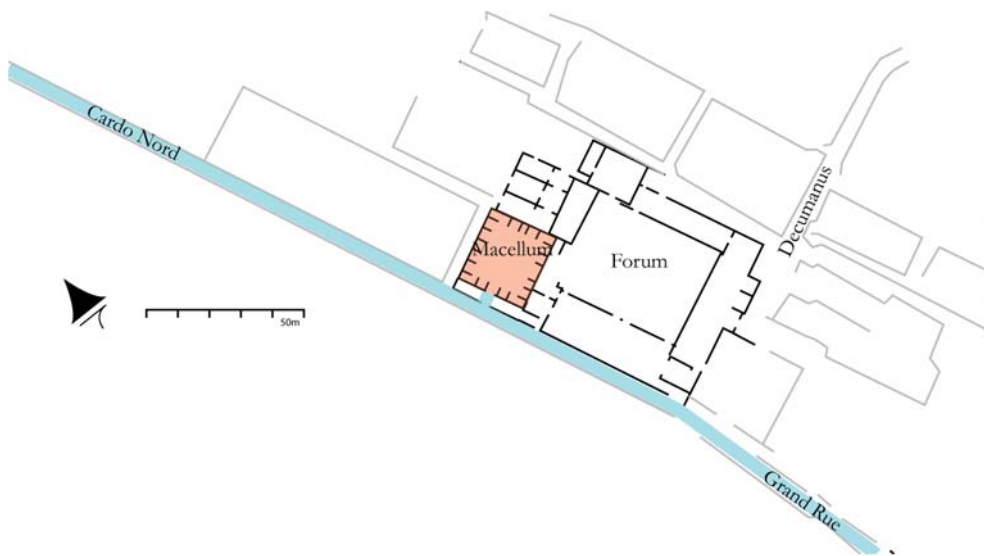


Fig. 7. View of the Macellum of the Cosinii and its connection with Cuicul's Cardo Nord (author).

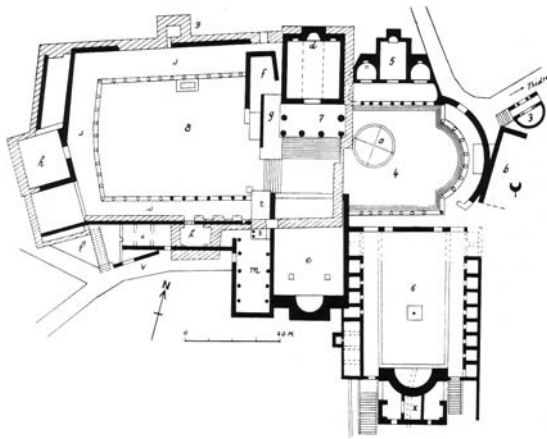


Fig. 8. Plan of the forum of Dougga (after Balty 1991).

notably towards the western side, especially in connection with the axis constituting the continuation of the *Decumanus Maximus* and linking the *colonia* with the nearby fort of Lambaesis.⁴⁰ Here a specific commercial character is witnessed by the presence of the market of Sertius and of the adjacent (and later) *marché aux vêtements*.⁴¹ This evidence adds to what we know about the section of *Decumanus Maximus* located within the *colonia*. There are clear indications that this road was distinguished as possessing a strong commercial character which increased as the *colonia* grew after its foundation. The most obvious is the *macellum* located next to the *maison des jardinières*, to the

east of the forum. This building, distinguished architecturally by its unusual layout, is highly significant as an indicator of the increasingly important commercial role of the *Decumanus Maximus* of Timgad. Similarly to what happens to the forum, this space appears to have been built some time after the original foundation of the *colonia*. This was originally suggested by Ballu, who read a later construction date for the building in the fact that it occupies a larger parcel of land than the one established by the original division of the *colonia* in *insulae*.⁴² In turn, the strong commercial character of the *Decumanus Maximus* is supported by the confirmed presence of significant transport activity witnessed by the concentration of grooves carved along the quasi-totality of the length of the street and aimed at keeping cart traffic under control.⁴³ These grooves are found only along the *Decumanus Maximus* (and the connected town gates), and seem to be related to local traffic, as vehicles travelling through Timgad did not need to cross the town through its centre.⁴⁴

The strong influence exercised by a growing need for commercial space on the monumental unity of the forum has also been recognized in another example, which is that of the market of the Cosinii, in the forum of Cuicul.⁴⁵ This building, although apparently integral to the general outline of Cuicul's forum, has its only entrance opening onto the adjacent *Cardo* and is completely disconnected from the public space (fig. 7). Gros has identified in the construction of this building a sign of a progressive lessening in importance of

the civic space as a focus for its community of users.⁴⁶ This analysis, however, can be reversed to focus on the importance of the parallel *Decumanus Maximus* as carrier of a flux of activity to which the construction of the market of the Cosinii (unlike the forum) is created to respond. The construction of this commercial space can be therefore read as a parallel example of how the structural and monumental integrity of the forum could respond dynamically to the evolving patterns of use of the city.

CONCLUSIONS

Seen in this light, the civic space of Timgad contrasts with an established view of imperial fora that despite being progressively disputed, still dominates our perception of these spaces. The univocal connection between the symbolism of authority and the monument-forum alienated this space from the condition of continuous mutation of public monuments which Laurence identified in his study of Roman Pompeii.⁴⁷ Change that has been recorded in all sites explored stratigraphically and, therefore, viewed in a diachronic perspective, has historically tended to privilege the dynamics of elite social competition, concentrated on redefining architecturally the monument forum and its reflection of themes in the representation of imperial authority. However, the particular shape taken by elite intervention in the transformation of these two spaces shows change implemented in a context of adaptation of existing buildings. This, in turn, emphasizes the dialogue that takes place between the ruling elite and the wider community of users of the forum. As a result of this dialogue, changes in patterns of use of urban space appear to fragment the monumental unity of the forum so that it responds more dynamically to that fluid process that is town life. In addition to addressing wider issues, these examples help advance our understanding of the insertion of African fora into type-based narratives of the forum of the Roman imperial period. In view of the picture provided above, we need to recognise how the all-pervading prominence of the imperial forum model is counterbalanced by an element of continuous change linked to context-specific processes. In addition to the main examples in this article, the forum of Dougga seems significant. It has long been recognized that the shape and overall composition of this forum depend upon its location (both topographically and as a place of convergence of a pre-existing Numidian settlement and the more recent *pagus*

grown to its immediate south) as well as the composite nature of its constituent buildings (*fig. 8*).⁴⁸

Consequently we need to recognize that the study of the fora of Roman Africa has long suffered from a basic analytical flaw; the perception that the evidence we see today mirrors the form it possessed when first founded. Data presented in this article add to existing information that disputes this vision. Even on sites such as the forum of Sabratha, where we do not observe shifts of comparable impact, excavations have documented continuous change to designs even in course of construction.⁴⁹ The choice of this last site is not accidental, as it outlines one last conditioning factor in the interpretation of North African fora. This is the last obstacle affecting our understanding of how these spaces relate to those in the north-western provinces of the empire: as Ammar has lamented not long ago,⁵⁰ the former are simply not understood to the same degree, as their archaeological exploration has been largely limited to *clearings* of the spaces which offer little understanding of the entity of change. Excellent preservation, it seems, can hinder as well as favour our knowledge of Antiquity.

NOTES

* I should thank Gareth Sears, David Newsome and Ray Laurence for reading various drafts of this paper and providing me with very welcome criticisms and suggestions. Any errors, of course, are my own.

¹ For an overview see Gros 1996, 212-231.

² The most rooted argument on the subject concerns the formal appearance of the *fora* of Roman Britain (see Millett 1996, 72-73). New problems have been recently raised in the context of culture-contact, as the *fora* of north-western provincial *civitates* and *municipia* have been reviewed as interpretations of empire-wide models adapted to local cultural and social conditions (Altekamp 2001, 1-18 and Diaconescu 2004, 111-146). See also Bauer 1996 for an analysis of public spaces of the early Byzantine period.

³ Romanelli 1970, 101-110; see also Balty 1994, 96.

⁴ Ward-Perkins 1970, 1-19.

⁵ Ammar 1994, 445-447.

⁶ Euzennat/Hallier 1985, 73-103.

⁷ For details on Timgad see below, 127-130.

⁸ Balty 1994, 96.

⁹ Ammar 1994, 445-462.

¹⁰ Boube 1967, 351-352.

¹¹ Euzennat/Hallier 1985, 91-96.

¹² For an up-to-date discussion of the *forum* type see Euzennat 1994, 197-203.

¹³ Gros/Varène 1984, 37-38.

¹⁴ Gros/Torelli 2007, 379.

¹⁵ Gros 1994, 61-80.

¹⁶ Gros 1994, 61-80.

¹⁷ Gros 1994, 64.

¹⁸ Boeswillwald/Cagnat/Ballu 1905, 6.

¹⁹ The interpretation of the function of this room has been

confirmed by Balty in his book on the subject. His work has also been the only recent attempt at a more careful evaluation of three spaces located on the western side of the *forum*, namely the *curia*, the temple and the attached square room which has been interpreted by the author as having a civic function (Balty 1991, 73-79).

- ²¹ Boeswillwald/Cagnat/Ballu 1905, 34-36
- ²² Boeswillwald/Cagnat/Ballu, 1905, 31-32. See below for further details, 128-130.
- ²³ Gros 1994, 61-80.
- ²⁴ Ballu 1902, Pl. VI.
- ²⁵ See also above, 127.
- ²⁶ The plan drawn by Zimmer (Fig. 2.2), and used by Gros in his analysis of the civic space of Timgad, has an important flaw in the record of this building. It fails to show the significant discrepancy between the two buildings and the intercurring space, Zimmer 1989, 39.
- ²⁷ These rooms are part of the whole building to the south of the *curia* which can be assigned to a later period (see above in the same page and 127).
- ²⁸ I shall discuss the details of this broad correspondence below, 132-133.
- ²⁹ The possibility of this earlier structure being that of military *principia* can be discounted on the basis of the argument made by Fentress. She discounts the earlier presence of a legionary fortress on the site of the *colonia* (Fentress 1979, 126).
- ³⁰ Gros 1996, 227-228.
- ³¹ Constans 1916, 23-58.
- ³² See above, 125-128.
- ³³ Boeswillwald/Cagnat/Ballu 1905, 47.
- ³⁴ Ballu 1897, 148-149.
- ³⁵ The latter possesses vaulted rooms located under the pavement of the internal *porticus*. This makes their design very similar to that of the rooms in space D (Boeswillwald/Cagnat/Ballu 1905, 7-9).
- ³⁶ Boeswillwald/Cagnat/Ballu 1905, 7-9.
- ³⁷ Romanelli 1970, 76.
- ³⁸ Fage 1978, 201.
- ³⁹ Fentress 1979, 128.
- ⁴⁰ Fentress 1979, 130-132.
- ⁴¹ De Ruyt 1983, 193-198.
- ⁴² Ballu 1910, 33. De Ruyt is of the opinion that this *macellum* may be broadly contemporary to the market of Sertius (De Ruyt 1983, 203). Regretfully, there is no clear evidence helping us establish construction date for the building.
- ⁴³ Salama 1992, 353-356.
- ⁴⁴ Salama 1992, 349.
- ⁴⁵ De Ruyt 1983, 61-67.
- ⁴⁶ Gros 1994, 77-78.
- ⁴⁷ Laurence 2007, 20-38.
- ⁴⁸ Saint-Amans 2004, 240-255. More recently Thomas has given us a picture of how elite competition has contributed to the establishment and evolution of what seems to have originally been a Numidian market-place (Thomas 2007, 71-72; 293). This reconnects the core of this argument with issues of cultural identity mentioned in footnote 2.
- ⁴⁹ Kenrick 1986, 13-37.
- ⁵⁰ Ammar 1994, 445-447.

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The Vitruvian Man and the Golden Section

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Abstract

*It is suggested that the proportions given by Vitruvius for the ideal human figure (Vitr. De arch. 3.1.2) imply a division of the upper half of the body that approximates closely to the so-called Golden Section. The prerequisite of this is that the geometrical midpoint of the figure coincides with the base of the penis, a common convention in Greek male statuary. The result is a continuous proportion between the three main divisions of the body (legs, trunk, head + neck). It is further suggested that the conjecture a medio pectore is open to doubt.**

The so-called Vitruvian canon (Vitr. De arch. 3.1.2-3), best known through Leonardo da Vinci's famous drawing, has been the subject of many interpretations, often in connection with attempts at reconstructing Polykleitos' sculptural canon.¹ It is generally assumed that it derives from a Greek source of Classical or Hellenistic date, but to what extent it should be regarded as an artistic canon is not clear; the square and the circle can hardly have been of any practical use for artists and are likely to have a symbolic meaning.² Furthermore, it is not complete as a canon for the human body, since some information is missing, such as the position of the navel. For the present argument, however, the original purpose of the canon is not of vital importance.

The fractions given by Vitruvius concerning the position of the suprasternal notch³ allow a reconstruction of the scheme for the vertical divisions of the body that seems to have been almost totally neglected.⁴ According to Vitruvius, the head of a man⁵ takes up $\frac{1}{6}$ of the total height, the face $\frac{1}{10}$, and the distance from the suprasternal notch to the roots of the hair $\frac{1}{8}$ (fig. 1).⁶ The least common multiple of 8, 10 and 6 is 120 and, accordingly, the total height may be expressed as $1 = \frac{120}{120}$. The distance from the crown of the head to the roots of the hair is found to be $\frac{3}{20}$ ($= \frac{1}{40}$), which means that the suprasternal notch will be located at a point equivalent to $\frac{97}{120}$. The quotient of 120 and 97 is 1.2371..., which is a very good approximation of $\sqrt{5}-1$ (1.2360...). If we further assume that half the height ($\frac{60}{120}$) coincides with the pubic symphysis or base of the penis,⁷ the suprasternal notch will correspond to a point that cuts the upper half of the body approximately according to the so-called Golden Section: $60 : 37 (= 1.6216...)$. Furthermore, the distance from ground to suprasternal notch will be divided correspondingly at the base of the penis: $97 : 60 (= 1.6166...)$. We should thus, if the

suprasternal notch were located exactly at the Golden Section, have a continuous proportion ($a : b = b : c$) between these three parts: the legs, the trunk, and the head including the neck ($60.000... : 37.082... : 22.917...$). Geometrically it is easy to construct; one only has to divide the upper half

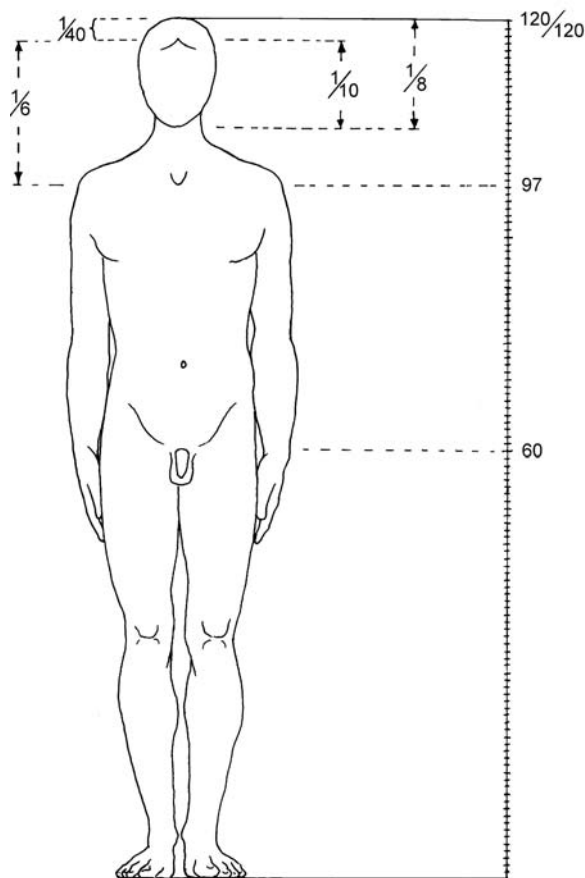


Fig. 1. The Vitruvian Man with the main vertical measurements indicated (drawing by author).

of the line representing the height according to the Golden Section: $\frac{1}{2}(\sqrt{5}+1) = 1.6180\dots$ (fig. 2). With an arithmetical construction, such as the division into 120 parts ($60 + 37 + 23$) suggested here, the proportion will be approximately continuous.⁸

The suprasternal notch is clearly located and defined (*cum cervicibus imis ab summo pectore*), but after *sextae* the text must be corrupt, since the distance from the suprasternal notch to the crown cannot be $\frac{1}{4}$ as the transmitted text says, given the previously listed fractions. Almost all modern editors therefore adopt the conjecture of Galiani, *a medio pectore*, anticipated by Leonardo da Vinci and Cesare Cesariano.⁹ This conjecture, although anatomically perfectly possible, is however not quite satisfactory, for even if *medium pectus* is a reasonably well-defined point it seems a bit odd to say that the head accounts for a fourth of the body height 'from the middle of the breast to the crown'. One would rather expect the subject of the sentence to be a word denoting distance. There is, however, another conjecture that at least should be considered. A. Marini¹⁰ in 1836 suggested, instead of *a medio pectore*, the insertion of *tantundem et oris* between *verticem* and *quartae*,

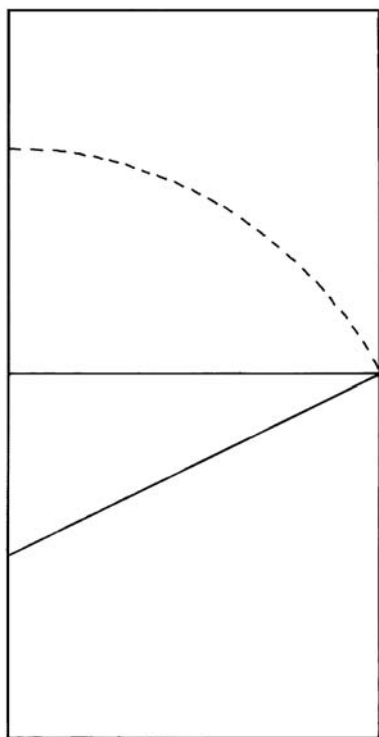


Fig. 2. A construction of the Golden Section (drawing by author).

thus reading after *sextae*: *ad summum verticem tantundem et oris quartae*, or 'to the crown as much, and a fourth of the face.' As the face constitutes $\frac{1}{10}$ of the height, $\frac{1}{4}$ of the face equals $\frac{1}{40}$, which is the distance from the roots of the hair to the crown. Vitruvius' preference for fractions with low denominators¹¹ might explain why he should have chosen to say ' $\frac{1}{4}$ of the face' instead of the more logical ' $\frac{1}{40}$ of the height'. With the usual conjecture a new distance (middle of breast to crown) is introduced, whereas with Marini's conjecture the definition of the location of the suprasternal notch is supplemented by the 'missing' fraction ($\frac{1}{40}$), expressed as $\frac{1}{4}$ of the face. A third solution, suggested by Speich, is to regard the words *ad summum verticem quartae* as an erroneous addition by an early medieval scribe.¹² This would have the further advantage of making the sequence of fractions mentioned by Vitruvius continuously increasing ($\frac{1}{10}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{4}$), if the tripartition of the face is regarded as a parenthesis and the repetition of $\frac{1}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ is disregarded. In my opinion, Galiani's conjecture is not obviously superior to the others.

The 'canon of Vitruvius' has often been thought to reflect a sculptural canon of the Classical age.¹³ A comparison with Polykleitos' Doryphoros, one of the most thoroughly studied Classical statues, shows that the vertical division of the body that can be deduced from Vitruvius' account (fig. 1) is consistent with Classical Greek notions of the ideal male human body. The average of five measurements by four different scholars indicates that the position of the suprasternal notch on the Doryphoros in relation to the height may have corresponded to the quotient 1.2328... thus very close to its position in the Vitruvian canon.¹⁴ In all cases, the mid-height is located at the base of the penis. Other examples could also be mentioned.¹⁵

Other parts of the Vitruvian canon also agree reasonably well with Classical sculpture and with the bodily proportions of real men. A face length of $\frac{1}{10}$ occurs fairly often in sculpture of the 5th century BC, and somewhat less frequently later.¹⁶ The size of the head ($\frac{1}{8}$) is fairly common in sculpture, but more so in the 4th than in the 5th century;¹⁷ in reality it is normal.¹⁸ The foot length of $\frac{1}{6}$, on the other hand, is rather unusual, in sculpture as well as in reality: usually the feet are somewhat smaller.¹⁹ The number six was considered as one of the 'perfect numbers' according to Vitruvius (3.1.10),²⁰ which is probably the reason for its occurrence here.²¹ The same might be the case with the distance between hairline and suprasternal notch.

The long neck of the Vitruvian man, that is, the

distance between his chin and suprasternal notch, is a conspicuous feature, constituting $\frac{1}{5}$ of the height; a more normal ratio in sculpture is $\frac{1}{20}$ or even smaller.²² In reality a neck length of $\frac{1}{5}$ is apparently rare.²³ It can be explained as the consequence of the low position of the suprasternal notch and the choice of $\frac{1}{2}$ for the distance between hairline and suprasternal notch: an increased head length would have made the part of the head covered by hair too small in relation to the head length.²⁴ The oversized neck length thus had to be accepted.

The occurrence of the 'perfect numbers' 6 and 10 among the fractions is hardly a coincidence; philosophical speculation may have played a part in the formulation of the Greek canon or canons that Vitruvius used. The Pythagoreans and Plato are two obvious examples of the importance of geometry and mathematics in the intellectual milieu of the Classical age. In *Timaeus* (31c-32a), Plato speaks about proportion (*analogia*) in a cosmological context, calling it 'the fairest of bonds [...] which most perfectly unites into one both itself and the things which it binds together', and taking as an example the geometric mean, a continuous proportion.²⁵ And Galen, in a much-quoted passage where he mentions Polykleitos' system, says that 'all doctors and philosophers' agree that beauty resides in the harmony of the parts.²⁶ The employment of a sophisticated geometric ratio like the Golden Section for an ideal canon of the human body would thus not be surprising.²⁷ A continuous proportion based on $\sqrt{2}$ has been proposed by R. Tobin for the canon of Polykleitos, in his analysis of the Doryphoros.²⁸

If my interpretation of the Vitruvian passage is correct, there existed a division of the human body that made use of the 'extreme and mean ratio', as the Golden Section was called in antiquity,²⁹ in order to achieve a continuous proportion between the three main sections of the body. That Vitruvius does not expressly mention the ratio is not surprising; explicit references to irrational ratios are few in his work, partly on account of the important role of modules in his system. There are, however, a number of passages in his work where numerical ratios can be interpreted as transformations of geometrical ones.³⁰ The same might be the case with his ideal man. How the divisions within the three main parts would have been constructed in the hypothetical, geometrically constructed canon is of course impossible to say, but fractions of these parts as well as other geometrical constructions are conceivable. For example, the length of the head may have

been constructed as $\frac{2}{3}$ of the distance from the crown to the suprasternal notch, or as this distance divided by $\sqrt{2}$, which would make it slightly greater than $\frac{1}{2}$ of the height (and that of the neck accordingly slightly less than $\frac{1}{5}$).

The date of this hypothetical canon cannot be determined with any degree of certainty, except that the discovery of the Golden Section is usually considered not to have occurred before the late 5th century.³¹ A late Classical, or alternatively a Hellenistic, date for the canon has been proposed.³²

It is somewhat surprising that the possible occurrence of this ratio in the Vitruvian canon has received so little attention among scholars.³³ It may have been regarded as incidental, especially since it is expressed only indirectly and not as a geometrical construction. F. Zöllner stresses the importance of metrological conventions (foot, cubit, *spithame*, *orguia*, etc.) in the canon, and its appropriateness for architects.³⁴ None of this, however, is inconsistent with the hypothesis that the origin of the Vitruvian Man was a canon that contained a continuous proportion based on the Golden Section.

NOTES

* I have benefited from discussing an earlier version of this article with Dr. Thomas H. Brobjer, Uppsala, Dr. Erik Bohlin, Uppsala, Dr. Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe, Uppsala, and members of the seminar of the Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University. I am also indebted to Dr. Brita Alroth, Uppsala, for expert help in the preparation of the drawings.

1 Kalkmann 1893, 42-45; Speich 1957, 57-70, 95-96; von Steuben 1973, 68-71; Berger 1990, 162-163; 1992, 36-39; Gros 1976; 1990, 61-70; 2001; Zöllner 1987.

2 See Gros 2001, 20-21 for the view that they represent the earth and the sky, respectively. For a different view, see Zöllner 1987, 23-39, 203-204.

3 Or 'pit of the throat' (*cervices imae*). Since *cervix* (mostly in the plural) usually means 'neck', some translators take it to mean the nape of the neck (in German, *Nacken*). However, the pit of the throat is a much more well-defined point than the transition between neck and back. Furthermore, the mention of *summum pectus* indicates that the point in question is located on the front of the body. An instance of *cervix* meaning the throat is Celsus, *Med.* 7.13.

4 See below, note 33.

5 Although *homo* per se does not imply male sex, it is a fairly safe assumption that this is what Vitruvius and his source had in mind.

6 I quote the relevant passage with the most important words underlined: *corpus enim hominis ita natura composuit uti os capitis a mento ad frontem summam et radices imas capilli esset decimae partis, item manus palma ab articulo ad extremum medium digitum tantundem, caput a mento ad summum verticem octavae, cum cervicibus imis ab*

summo pectore ad imas radices capillorum sextae, <a medio pectore> ad summum verticem quartae. Ipsius autem oris altitudinis tertia est pars ab imo mento ad imas nares, nasum ab imis naribus ad finem medium superciliarum tantundem, ab ea fine ad imas radices capilli frons efficitur item tertiae partis. Pes vero altitudinis corporis sextae, cubitum quartae, pectus item quartae.

'For nature has so planned the human body that the face from the chin to the top of the forehead and the roots of the hair is a tenth part; also the palm of the hand from the wrist to the top of the middle finger is as much; the head from the chin to the crown, an eighth part; from the top of the breast with the bottom of the neck to the roots of the hair, a sixth part; from the middle of the breast to the crown, a fourth part; a third part of the height of the face is from the bottom of the chin to the bottom of the nostrils; the nose from the bottom of the nostrils to the line between the brows, as much; from that line to the roots of the hair, the forehead is given as the third part. The foot is a sixth of the height of the body; the cubit a quarter, the breast also a quarter' (ed. and transl. Granger, Loeb Classical Library).

⁷ This is well attested in ancient sculpture and has evidently been a rule of thumb among artists of later times also, see Kalkmann 1893, 32, note 1. Varro, *Ling.* 7.17 defines the middle of the human body as *id quo discernitur homo mas an femina sit*. In real life the pubic symphysis is normally located slightly above the geometrical midpoint in males, according to Bammes 1973, 84, 102.

⁸ The approximation of the value of $\sqrt{5}$ would correspond to the ratio 67 : 30 (= 2.233...). According to Frey 1990, 291, 294-295, two ancient approximations, also used by Vitruvius, are 9 : 4 (= 2.25) and 38 : 17 (= 2.235...).

⁹ Galiani's edition appeared in 1758. The conjecture is put forth in a footnote on p. 94, after the alternative *quintae*. For Leonardo's drawing, see Zöllner 1987, 77-87, and for Cesariano's translation (1521), 127-143. Corso 1997, 238 keeps the transmitted text but adds '*dal petto*' ('from the chest') in his translation, which I find inconsequential.

¹⁰ The conjecture was adopted by Reber 1865, 74, in his translation, and it is quoted by Speich 1957, 95.

¹¹ On this, see Coulton 1975, 83-84.

¹² Speich 1957, 92 with note 47, 95-96. He argues that an 8th century text shows the existence of a human measurement (*statura*) in which a point on the breast called *bifurcum* was located at $\frac{3}{4}$ of the height. The author of the archetype would have identified this with the pit of the throat and added the clause *ad summum verticem quartae*, without noticing the ensuing discrepancy. For the interpretation of this text, see also Schwarz 1968.

¹³ See the literature cited in note 1. According to Coulton 1975, 84, the exclusive use of submultiples (= unit fractions) in Vitruvius' rules for human proportion indicates that they go back to the 5th or 4th century BC.

¹⁴ Kalkmann 1893, 37: 70/57 = 1.2280...; von Steuben 1973, 38: 16/13 = 1.2307... (with the qualification '*vielleicht*'); Berger 1990, 166, 172 with note 86 (Naples copy): $\frac{1}{10} = 1.2307...$; Berger 1992, 328 (Minneapolis copy): 98/80 = 1.225. The number 98 represents the actual height of the statue (98", 'middle scale'), 80 the position of the suprasternal notch (80"). The position is also defined as $\frac{1}{10}$ of the 'upper scale' (100") and $\frac{1}{10}$ of the 'lower scale' (96"); Sonntagbauer 1995, 39, fig. 1 and passim (Minneapolis copy): $\frac{1}{10} = 1.25$.

¹⁵ On the late Archaic Aristodikos kouros in Athens (ca 500 BC), according to Rhomaios' measurements, the corresponding value is 1.2303... The mid-height corresponds to the base of the penis and the head takes up $\frac{1}{10}$ of the height (Rhomaios 1961, 7-10); on the Piombino Apollo (probably 1st century BC), according to Kalkmann's measurements (Kalkmann 1893, 31-32), the suprasternal notch is at $\frac{3}{26} = 1.2307...$ Because of the large head and the very low hairline the distance to the hairline in this case equals $\frac{1}{10}$.

¹⁶ Kalkmann 1893, Tables A and I.

¹⁷ According to Berger 1992, 111, fig. 136, 328, the head length of the Doryphoros is $\frac{1}{15}$ of the 'upper scale' (100") including '*Haarkappe*', $\frac{1}{15}$ excluding '*Haarkappe*'. In relation to the 'middle scale' the head is thus slightly larger than $\frac{1}{10}$. According to Kalkmann 1893, 36, the ratio is 1 : 7.

¹⁸ Bammes 1973, 93-94, 120 and passim regards the canon of 8 head-lengths as normal for adults, whereas a slightly larger head ($7\frac{3}{4}$ -8) is typical of young men (18-20 years). According to Zöllner 1987, 27, Vitruvius' reason for employing the $\frac{1}{10}$ length is that it coincides with the *spithame* (= 12 inches, $\frac{1}{10}$ of 96" or six feet).

¹⁹ According to Bammes 1973, 102, the foot length equals the distance '*Halsgrube-Haaransatz*' in males (as in Vitruvius' canon). In Bammes' typical man, however, this distance equals ca $\frac{1}{10}$ of the body height.

²⁰ $6 = 1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3$, but also $1 + 2 + 3$. According to Knell 1984, 35, the number 120 would also have been considered a perfect number ($1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3 \cdot 4 \cdot 5$).

²¹ For the perfect numbers, see Gros 1990, *ad loc.* Cf. 4.1.6-7, where Vitruvius speaks of the proportions of the Doric, 'male' column, in which the ratio of the lower diameter to the height is 1 : 6. The numbers 10 and 16 were also considered perfect numbers.

²² Berger 1992, 36-39, who believes that the Vitruvian canon basically derives from Polykleitos, considers the long neck ($\frac{1}{10}$) impossible and suggests corrections that place the suprasternal notch at $\frac{5}{16}$ (= 1.2) and makes the neck $\frac{1}{4}$ of the height (Berger 1992, 37 and fig. 39, right). It should be noted that Speich 1957, in his table, p. 183, mistakenly gives the neck length as $\frac{1}{4}$.

²³ Bammes 1973, 93, fig. 92, 102 (table): normally $\frac{1}{4}$ in males, but with many variations, e.g. fig. 95a: ca $\frac{1}{16}$. The female neck is normally somewhat longer than the male.

²⁴ The position of the hairline at $\frac{1}{10}$ of the head length is unusual in sculpture, but an even higher position is apparently normal in humans, cf. Bammes 1973, 91, fig. 90: hairline at $\frac{1}{10}$ of the head length. Its high position in Vitruvius' system could thus be the result of observation of nature. But it can also be interpreted as a consequence of the use of unit fractions: there are no suitable alternatives for the $\frac{1}{10}$ distance, nor for the face distance ($\frac{1}{10}$).

²⁵ 'And the fairest of bonds is that which most perfectly unites into one both itself and the things which it binds together; and to effect this in the fairest manner is the natural property of proportion ... For whenever the middle term of any three numbers ... is such that as the first is to it, so is it to the last term, and again, conversely, as the last is to the middle, so is the middle to the first, then the middle term becomes in turn the first and the last, while the first and the last become in turn middle terms, and the necessary consequence will be that all the terms are interchangeable, and being interchangeable they all form a unity' (transl. Bury, Loeb

- Classical Library).
- ²⁶ Gal., *Placita Hippocratis et Platonis* 5.
- ²⁷ Cf. Käppel 1989, who argues that the Golden Section and Fibonacci numbers were used by the architect of the theatre of Epidauros at the end of the 4th century BC. Tobin 1975.
- ²⁸ The definition of Euclid, *Elements* VI, Def. 3, is: 'A straight line is said to have been cut in extreme and mean ratio when, as the whole line is to the greater segment, so is the greater to the less'.
- ²⁹ See Gros 1976, Geertman 1984, and Frey 1990 on Vitruvius' treatment of geometrically constructed proportions in his sources and his use of approximations of irrational values. Three times (4.1.11, 6.3.3 and 9, praef. 5) Vitruvius mentions the diagonal of the square (= $\sqrt{2}$), otherwise he (or his sources), according to these scholars, converts geometrically constructed ratios into numerical ones. One example mentioned by Gros is the ratio between column-height and interaxial distance in the *systylos*, 9.5 : 3 $\approx \sqrt{10}$ (3.3.2 and 3.3.10). According to Frey 1990, 308 an example involving $\sqrt{5}$ is the ratio between column height and outer distance between two columns in the *eustylos*, 9.5 : 4.25 (3.3.6-7); this is equivalent to the ratio 38 : 17.
- ³⁰ Stewart 1978, 129. Cf. Käppel 1989, 93-94 for the view that the irrationality of the side and the diagonal of the regular pentagon was discovered at the middle of the 5th century BC, and De Zwarte 2002, who argues that the Golden Section was employed in the ground-plan of the Basilica at Paestum, ca 530 BC.
- ³¹ Kalkmann 1893, 43-45 ascribes it to Euphranor (4th century BC), Speich 1957, 64 is inclined to agree, whereas Gros 1990, 61-62 considers a Hellenistic, classicizing source the most likely. Zöllner 1987 regards the canon as Vitruvius' own creation, i.e. from the 1st century BC.
- ³² The only mention I have found is in Speich 1957, 65; in a parenthesis he mentions 'der im goldenen Schnitt geteilten Figur', apparently as the obvious alternative to his own interpretation, which puts the beginning of the trunk slightly above mid-height. The reason for this shorter trunk length is his equation of it with the arm length without the hand, which he calculates, correctly in my view, as the equivalent of $3\frac{6}{120}$ (Speich 1957, 64-65). The difference between this and the trunk length suggested by me ($3\frac{7}{120}$) thus only amounts to $\frac{1}{120}$ of the body height.
- ³³ Zöllner 1987, 24ff., esp. 35-36, 209. - One *orgyia* (fathom) equals 6 feet = 96 inches (*digiti*), the foot equals a *pes* (16 inches), the cubit (forearm + hand) a *cubitus* (24 inches), the head a *spithame* (12 inches). On the other hand, the tenths (face, hand) do not fit this system. ('Basilica') at Paestum. With an addendum on the Parthenon at Athens, *BABesch* 77, 9-18.
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The 2nd-century AD crisis in *Altinum* (*Venetia*, Northern Italy) *A mixture of historiographical determinism and archaeological scarcity?*

Jonas Danckers

Abstract

Traditionally, the 2nd century AD in Roman *Altinum* (Northern Italy) has been described as a period of crisis. As a similar 'commercial and agricultural' setback has earlier been proposed for the whole Italian peninsula in general, this article evaluates the epistemological basis of this local variant. A historiographical research firstly contextualises the origins of the classical pan-Italic crisis idea. Starting from critiques on this influential concept, a new archaeological methodology for tracing a crisis in antiquity is proposed. Applying this approach to *Altinum* and the *Venetia* region, it can be argued that the alleged '2nd-century AD crisis' for the town was not a reality but rather a mixture of historiographical determinism and archaeological scarcity.*

INTRODUCTION

The Roman town of *Altinum*, situated at the north-western edge of the lagoon of Venice (Northern Italy), was one of the most important commercial hubs of the High Adriatic (figs 1-2). *Altino*, as it is called today, became a permanent settlement at the start of the 1st millennium BC (fig. 4).¹ Its

favourable geographical position made it quickly an ideal place for interaction between the *Venetian* people and the rest of the Adriatic.² From the 2nd century BC onwards, the involvement of Rome within the region of *Venetia* initiated a complex cultural process for this lagoonal town.³ Because of its key position in trade between the Alpine and Transalpine regions and the Adriatic Sea and

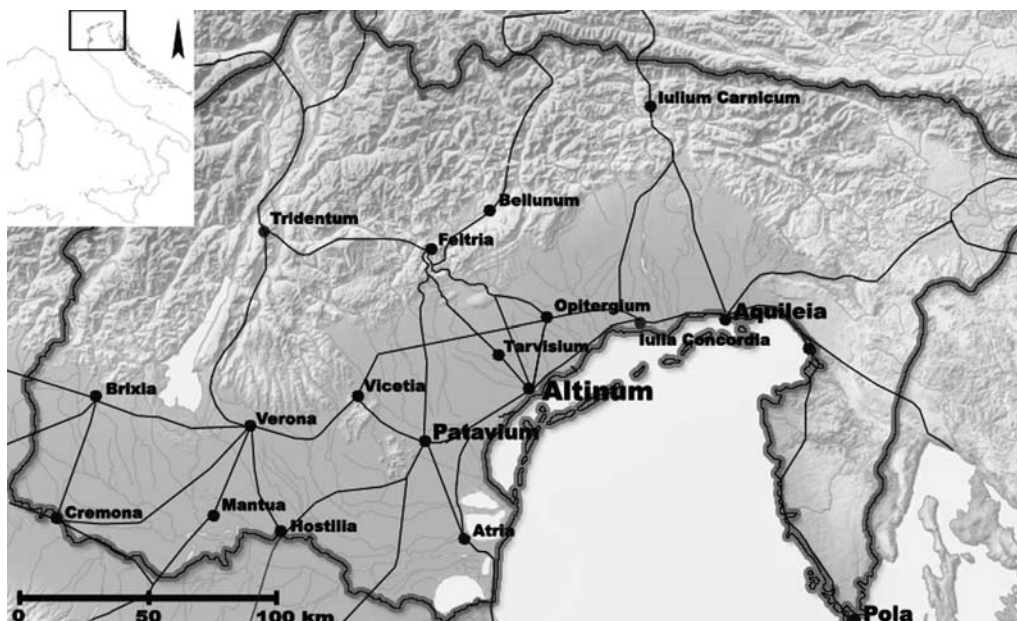


Fig. 1. *Altinum* and the surrounding *Venetia* region (map by Frank Carpentier).



Fig. 2. Field, with visible archaeological material, around the museum and church of Altino (photo author).

Po Plain, *Altinum* prospered widely in the 1st centuries BC and AD.⁴

Following the traditional view of Scarfi and Tombolani,⁵ however, *Altinum* experienced a serious crisis in the 2nd century AD and was from then on in decline, until it was dealt a final blow in the 5th century AD when the city was looted by Attila the Hun.⁶ The *Myth of Venice* further accounts that the inhabitants of *Altinum* fled to the surrounding lagoon and describes how the town became, indirectly, the predecessor of Venice.⁷ Recently this traditional view has partially been challenged by Tirelli, who demonstrated that *Altinum* remained inhabited after the so-called barbarian invasions.⁸

Nonetheless, a '2nd-century AD crisis' continues to be mentioned for *Altinum* since from then the commercial and agricultural activities of the *municipium* would have been drastically reduced and consequently a cultural decline would have been started. Furthermore, De Franceschini has argued for a similar '2nd-century AD crisis' for the whole *Venetia* region, while Busana has stated that, although this crisis displayed local differences within *Venetia*, traces of an 'agricultural crisis' are observable all over the Italian peninsula.⁹ Therefore one could suppose that the '2nd-century AD crisis' was not only a local, but also a regional and a supraregional phenomenon. However, Patterson remarked recently that the idea of a widespread crisis for Early Imperial Italy is too simplistic because of the diverse nature of the peninsula.¹⁰

The aim of this article is to evaluate the epistemological basis for a '2nd-century AD crisis' at *Altinum*. Although *Altinum* has (exceptionally) not been overbuilt by a modern Italian city, it has been excavated only fragmentarily (fig. 2).¹¹ Its biased archaeological record offers a unique opportunity to reveal interpretations, such as '2nd-century AD

crisis' idea, that are not satisfactorily supported by archaeological evidence. As a conclusion does not stem directly from the data, probably other (non-archaeological) theories influenced its genesis. The first section of this article will therefore clarify the historiography of the influential pan-Italic '2nd-century AD crisis' idea. Tracing the genealogy of the crisis theory will lead to a better understanding of the complex interplay between ideology, fragmentary written and archaeological sources in its making.¹² In a second section critiques on this traditional idea will make clear why it cannot uncritically be applied all over Italy. These will also provide a basis for the outline of a methodology which will establish better criteria for the identification of a crisis in antiquity. In the third and last part of this article this methodology will be applied to the case of *Altinum* and *Venetia* and in this light the archaeology of the town and its territory will be reassessed. This focus on the history of an idea will assist in raising awareness of similar problematic interpretations in other contexts.

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE '2ND-CENTURY AD CRISIS' THEORY

Recent research has indicated that studying the history of archaeology is not only interesting in itself, but that it is even more relevant for the contextualisation of older ideas upon which new interpretations are consciously or unconsciously based.¹³ Archaeologists are influenced by their social and intellectual background and an increased awareness of this could lead to more nuanced interpretations. An evaluation of the epistemological basis of the local '2nd-century crisis' for *Altinum* therefore needs to reconsider its conceptual genesis.

Although the first proponents of the local crisis theory did not refer explicitly to the theories that incited them to make this interpretation, they surely were influenced by concepts which circulated at that time within their scientific community.¹⁴ The idea of a general crisis for the Italian peninsula in the 2nd century AD, although nearly always described in broad and superficial chronological and geographical terms, existed already, and its origins can be retraced through references in other publications.¹⁵ Busana for instance, explicitly refers to the Italian ancient historian Lo Cascio, who ascribes the general pan-Italic economic regression of the 2nd century AD to a growing competition between the peninsula and the provinces of the Roman Empire.¹⁶ After a period of *Raub-*

kapitalismus in the Late Republic, Italy would have lost its Mediterranean monopoly and specific mode of production in the 2nd century AD, urging the propertied class to assume a so-called *rentier* mentality.¹⁷ Lo Cascio's seemingly coherent account is composed of different ideas which can ultimately be retraced to the influential oeuvres of Michael Rostovtzeff and Andrea Carandini.¹⁸ A sketch of their lives and work will allow us to illustrate how their initial formulation of the general crisis theory fitted well within their intentions and ideas, and how they came to be so influential later on.

Back to the beginning: Rostovtzeff and Carandini.

Michael Ivanovich Rostovtzeff (1870-1952) was a Russian ancient historian and archaeologist, who was forced to go into exile to the United States at the outbreak of the Communist Revolution in 1917.¹⁹ His *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (SEHRE) and *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (SEHHW) were the very first systematic socio-economic histories of antiquity as until then the *Altertumswissenschaft* had mainly focused on political and religious history.²⁰ He was likewise the first historian to systematically develop the general '2nd-century AD crisis' idea for Italy. Moreover, as Rostovtzeff argued that this crisis resulted in a changing relationship between *bourgeoisie* and proletariat, ultimately leading to the fall of the Roman Empire; this negative vision, as built up in the different chapters of his SEHRE, fulfilled a specific role in his account.²¹

In the first chapters of his SEHRE, Rostovtzeff described how the so-called *bourgeoisie* formed the basis for the flourishing of the Roman Empire. In the late Republic, this profit-oriented class of landowners, merchants and industrialists had altered the simple Italic agricultural system into a more 'scientific' and capitalistic system that generated more profit by concentrating on the cultivation of grapes and olives, instead of grain. Rostovtzeff based this modernistic vision of the Roman economy on a few fragments of Columella and Pliny, who both described techniques for a more effective management of rural estates. In chapter 3 Rostovtzeff clarified that this process originally took place in Italy but that from the Julio-Claudian period onwards the provinces too started to emancipate themselves economically. As the provinces were consequently no longer dependent on the import of Italic products, the Italic monopoly was strongly undermined.²² The idea that the 'compe-

tition of the provinces' finally made the Italian peninsula collapse into a general economic crisis in the 2nd century AD, was illustrated with excerpts of classical literature.²³

Following Weber, Rostovtzeff postulated that due to this crisis, the Italic *bourgeoisie* assumed a *rentier* mentality and contented themselves with a smaller but safer yield. They were inclined to lease their land to tenants (*coloni*), switched from the intensive cultivation of olive and wine to more extensive grain culture and bought lands from impoverished peasants (process of estate accumulation in the hands of the rich).²⁴ In chapters 5, 6 and 7, he further described the 2nd-century AD situation and amplified the outlined sharp contrast between *bourgeoisie* and proletariat, city and countryside, leading class and army, etc.²⁵

Subsequently, Rostovtzeff pictured how, from Septimius Severus onwards, the high expenses of a proletariat-dominated Roman army got the Empire into a tight spot. The socio-economic upheaval brought about by the '2nd-century AD crisis' in Italy was supposed to have been the main reason for the 'poor' population (and the army) to turn against the cities and the bourgeoisie. Rostovtzeff's broadly defined '2nd-century crisis' for Italy, was, true to Gibbonian tradition, a necessary forerunner for the subsequent crisis of the 3rd century and consequently the whole gradual disintegration of the Empire.

The impressive volume of source material he applied, the well-organized and prosaically elaborated storyline and the renewing socio-economical aspect quickly made the SEHRE into an influential standard publication that left a clear mark on Roman archaeology and history.²⁶ Already in 1933 Giovanni Sanna translated the SEHRE in Italian as the *Storia economica e sociale dell'impero Romano* (SESIR).²⁷ The '2nd-century AD crisis' hypothesis was not further systematically elaborated until 'the decline thesis has been restated, with great energy and power, and with new arguments, by a group of Italian scholars led by Carandini'.²⁸

Archaeologist Andrea Carandini (°1937) heavily influenced the Italian *antichistica* as he pled for an Italian classical archaeology that would be unrelated to art history and would make use of New Archaeology excavation techniques.²⁹ Carandini and his team clearly worked within a Marxist interpretative framework as they considered Roman history as a discontinuous succession of economic modes of production, which in turn determine the socio-cultural qualities of society. Archaeological material is used to enforce this theoretical frame-

work. The historical interpretations of the School of Carandini can be defined as 'laws' rather than models since sooner than 'creating a guide for a more complex reality, they supply interpretations as a replacement or explanation of that reality'.³⁰ Carandini re-enforced the Italic '2nd-century AD crisis' idea by postulating that the 'Slave Mode of Production' (SMP) had the clear chronological boundaries of 200 BC-200 AD.³¹ He supposed that the end of this production mode during the 2nd century AD caused the entire Italic society to go into crisis.

While slaves were earlier on only sporadically employed in a domestic context, Carandini postulated that at the beginning of the 2nd century BC this situation changed when the Italic elite could easily obtain large rural estates and groups of slaves and could significantly raise production owing to this rational reorganization (SMP).³² Besides for surplus production of olive oil and wine, 'gli strumenti pensanti dei Romani' were from then on also being employed in pastoralism, grain production and in urban workshops.³³ Carandini illustrated the 'Slave Mode of Production' with archaeological material such as the Dressel 1, Dressel 6A and 2-4 amphorae and the Arretine *sigillata* production and he used the slave-run villa as a guide fossil for the SMP. The most important material contribution to the construction of the SMP concept was the excavation of the so-called slave-run villa of Settefinestre (Southern Etruria), whose dating supposedly fitted perfectly within the defined timeframe.³⁴ Here, the rational use of slaves was demonstrated as Carandini interpreted a few *cubicula* on the southwestern side of the villa as *ergastula* or slave quarters.³⁵

The '2nd-century AD crisis' idea for Italy is corroborated by Carandini as he situated the downfall of this lucrative SMP system during this century.³⁶ He underpinned his proposition that 'l'aurea età degli Antonini è stata per l'Italia il momento della rovina' historically by means of a negative reading of the edict of Domitian and the *alimenta* of Trajan and archaeologically by the presumed link between the disappearance of the Dressel 2-4 and Dressel 6A amphorae (fig. 7) and the decreasing quantity of settlements in maritime Etruria.³⁷ He read all this as 'a move from intensive viticulture using slave labor to less intensive cereal cultivation and tenancy, implying a decline in the profitability and productivity of agriculture and hence leading to a crisis in Italian society and economy as a whole'.³⁸ Initially, Carandini attributed the disappearance of this villa system to internal causes: the decrease of the cheap supply of slaves forced the villa-owners to maintain large slave families

themselves, which in the long-run resulted in too many expenses. The switch to a leasing system and the extensive cultivation of grain implied fewer risks anyhow. From 1985 onwards, Carandini followed Rostovtzeff's lead regarding the emancipation of the provinces: in the course of the 2nd century AD the monopoly of Italic slave-run villas disappeared and relatively more Spanish and African amphorae (and their contents) were imported. Panella, working close to Carandini's School, argued that the shift from the large Dressel 2-4 and Dressel 6A amphorae to the relatively smaller *anfore a fondo piatto* at the beginning of the 2nd century reflected the decline of the Italic long distance trade with the provinces and a restructuring of its productive economy to a local or regional scale (figs 7-8).³⁹

The dominance of Carandini's *scuola* in the Italian *antichistica*, the prevalence of one's own Italian literature for interpretations within Italian classical archaeology and the unintentional application of the Augustean *tota Italia* idea, resulted in a broad acceptance of the '2nd-century AD crisis' concept all over Italy.⁴⁰ However, this concept is not universally applicable and Rostovtzeff's and Carandini's discourses can be critiqued from several points of view.

Back to critiques : the '2nd-century AD crisis' theory revisited.

Firstly, the origins of the Italic '2nd-century AD crisis' idea were largely determined by Rostovtzeff's anticommunist and Carandini's Marxist ideological backgrounds. Critics have pointed out how Rostovtzeff's *SEHRE* was an indirect critique on the Russian Revolution. His negative description of the 2nd century AD and the consequences for the so-called proletariat, can be interpreted as a way to revenge the fallen *bourgeoisie*, to which he belonged.⁴¹ Carandini's dogmatic Marxist attitude should be situated at the other end of the spectrum.⁴² As the end of his SMP is not put forward as a testable model but in a motley style imposed as a historical reality, his approach could be called deterministic.⁴³ He only mentioned the evidence that fitted within his theory, leaving little potential for variability.

Secondly, Carandini's and Rostovtzeff's 2nd-century views were primarily based on ancient historical sources. Although Rostovtzeff's *SEHHW* was amply supported by archaeological evidence, his *SEHRE*, and consequently the '2nd-century crisis' idea, was not.⁴⁴ In 1926 no survey data were available for Roman Italy, nor did Rostovtzeff

refer to the disappearance of villas or amphorae from the archaeological record. Recently, several rural surveys have indicated 'a general trend of declining numbers of rural sites on the Italian countryside' in the 2nd century AD in particular.⁴⁵ Carandini, with the *SEHRE* at the back of his mind, used this general trend of diminishing settlement density and his excavation of the Settefinestre villa to argue for a period of crisis and estate accumulation.⁴⁶ The core of this interpretation, however, remains based on historical sources that only relate to a specific social class. Since small land owners, tenants, and day labourers stay out of historical sight⁴⁷ and a less dense settlement pattern does not *a priori* imply 'estate accumulation',⁴⁸ there is good reason to question the application of the historically determined negative vision to the whole of 2nd century AD Italy.

Thirdly, the '2nd-century AD pan-Italic crisis' concept is embedded in a rather modernistic view on the ancient economy. Rostovtzeff, who projected his modern critique into the ancient world, is exemplary of this tendency. He did not distinguish between the modern economic system and the ancient one, using modern economic terms such as 'capitalistic', 'industrial', 'competition', 'global market', etc. He described the Roman Empire as one economic union using historical fragments of Dio of Prusa. According to him the '2nd-century crisis' applied to the entire peninsula for the Italic mentality was completely profit-oriented. Also Carandini can be placed within the modernistic camp as he saw the *SMP* as the dominating economic system in Late Republican and Early Imperial Italy and considered the almost capitalistic villa-system emblematic of the entire peninsular economy. Their modernistic ideas influenced unconsciously many other interpretations all over the Italian peninsula.⁴⁹

However, such modernistic attitudes are problematic in the light of the current tendency of consensus in the debate on ancient economies.⁵⁰ Keeping in mind the mental legacy of Finley, the Roman economy is currently considered a pre-industrial one and less powerful in production. Although the pursuit of autarky is seen as a basis for the ancient economic mentality, the possibility of relative economic growth (and crisis) is not being ruled out.⁵¹ Nonetheless, this economy 'does not have to be that *monocolore*, does not have to be labeled according to its predominant pattern, and does not have to be more than a loosely articulated *mélange* of separate systems each with its own rules, purposes and ideology'.⁵² Consequently, it is logical to argue that Roman Italy was not

entirely oriented towards profit, and the majority of the peninsula simply strived for autarky. The lucrative, slavery-based and market-oriented villa-system as described by Rostovtzeff and Carandini, constituted only one niche of the Early Imperial Italic economy. So, the so-called 'competition of the provinces' probably did not herald a common recession for the entire Italic economy, but only affected a few villas in certain regions of Italy, which produced olive oil and wine for export, such as examples from maritime Etruria and the Adriatic coast.⁵³ In this view it is not appropriate to extrapolate the singular history of the Settefinestre villa in the export-oriented *Ager Cosanus* to the entire Italic countryside.⁵⁴

Fourthly, this tendency to generalization is another salient feature of Carandini's and Rostovtzeff's accounts of 2nd-century AD Italy. Rostovtzeff's one-size-fits-it-all Roman history can be linked to the tradition of the *grande synthèse*.⁵⁵ It is problematic to use this kind of general synthesis for the historical reconstruction of specific periods and regions.⁵⁶ Carandini's proposition about the fixed chronological boundaries of the *SMP* and the dominance (and end) of this slave-run villa-system all over Italy is so deterministic that Finley defined it as 'Procrustean treatment of the evidence'. Again, 'Roman Italy was not an entity, but a complex network of landscapes and cities widely divergent in nature'.⁵⁷

The definition of a slave-run villa is indeed far from unequivocal. Apart from Marxist ideology and the above mentioned classical texts, there is no proof for slave quarters in villas.⁵⁸ This turbid identification means that the strict chronological delineation of the *SMP* between 200 BC-200 AD can be questioned.⁵⁹ Stating an abrupt ending of the slave-run villa-system is problematic as a diminishing settlement density, or the disappearance of the Dressel 2-4 and 6A amphorae cannot only or straightforwardly be connected with the overall demise of the slave-run villa. Early Imperial rural Italy was characterized by a myriad of varying settlements types.⁶⁰ Moreover, until recently the 2nd-century Italic flat bottom amphorae were relatively understudied. Their scarce typological recognisability and the 2nd-century AD switch to non-ceramic containers, like wooden barrels, has given a distorted view of the Italic wine and olive-oil production of this period.⁶¹ Total production was *a priori* not smaller, but apparently archaeologically less visible. Tchernia has even argued for increased wine production during this period.⁶² Some regions show a diminishing density of rural settlements as early as the 1st century

AD whilst elsewhere, settlement patterns stay constant and do not change until the 3rd or 4th century AD.⁶³ These observations do not automatically reflect the demise of the slave-run villa-system in a certain region, but are rather the result of specific regional phenomena. In some Italic regions, the classical slave-run villa did even not exist.⁶⁴

However, the slave-run villa, considered now as only one part of the whole peninsular economy, experienced serious problems in the 2nd century AD. Pliny the Elder already formulated a possible explanation for the demise of this exceptional system as he stated that '*bene colere necessarium est, optime damnosum*' (HN 19.38). Morley endorsed this view when he pointed to the risk of focusing farming only on the production of wine and olive oil for export.⁶⁵ He argued that the appearance of Spanish and African amphorae (and their contents) on the Roman market only slightly reduced the price, but that this small difference was enough for the villa owners to shift their estates towards a less intensive way of exploitation of leasing and grain cultivation. Tainter's theoretical framework provides the means to understand this 'ability of a system to adjust its configuration and function under disturbance' more clearly.⁶⁶ Instead of describing this process negatively as the *anelasticità della villa*,⁶⁷ I would like to stress this positive recuperative power for this exceptional system.

Fifthly and lastly, the emphasis in Italian classical archaeology on the 'golden' Augustean era is another factor which has unwittingly strengthened the argument for a '2nd-century AD crisis'. The period after such an era is often *a priori* described in rather negative terms. Furthermore, numerous cities across the peninsula elaborated their monumental centres during the 1st centuries BC and AD. As classical archaeology had an obvious predilection for displayable and visible (urban) architectural and artifactual remains, the present known archaeological record contains disproportionately more information about these centuries. In the 2nd century AD, cities had already constructed most large, monumental buildings and therefore logically experienced a relative standstill in urbanisation. Consequently, also amphorae, which were widely used for the foundations and drainages in the ancient town centres of the 1st centuries BC and AD, are badly represented for the next century. Contexts outside the monumental centres, where amphorae were still used, are relatively less frequently excavated.⁶⁸ Although less urban constructions do not automatically

imply a crisis, the quantitative and qualitative less extensive 2nd-century AD archaeological evidence from the cities has, together with the literary evidence about the appointment of *curatores rei publicae* in several Italic towns, unintentionally endorsed the aforementioned crisis idea for the countryside. Actually, a circular reasoning underlies the crisis idea: an urban crisis, visible in the stagnation of monumental construction, is the result of the economic difficulties of the countryside, evident from less archaeological material as amphorae, found in the towns.

This section clarified the genealogy of the traditional pan-Italic '2nd-century AD crisis' idea. Critiques on this modernistic, generalizing and mainly historically based top-down approach indicated that it is necessary to take into full account the geographical, historical and socio-economic differences of Early Imperial Italy. Recently, John Patterson stressed this regional variability and argued consequently also against a general decline thesis in *Landscapes and Cities*.⁶⁹ The ancient historian succeeded, by means of epigraphical and literary fragments, in sketching an alternative, social understanding of Early Imperial Italy.⁷⁰ Patterson pictured how the Italic cities all reacted differently to the difficulties they encountered. He argued that, while during the Augustean period civic life was characterised by formal politics and the local urban elites still heavily invested in the construction of monumental buildings, this attitude seems to have changed in the 2nd century AD, when the increasing fashion for banqueting and distributions of food made benefaction possible for well-off citizens beyond the traditional elite. This move to 'sociability', also visible in the restoration and construction of places where people usually gathered (amphitheatres, baths and *macella*), reflected a strategy of the city to draw not only on the traditional elite but also on ambitious and more affluent benefactors from across the whole community. As Patterson was convinced that the necessary financial means to climb the social ladder could be gained with larger estates, he saw 'estate accumulation in the hands of the rich [as] a natural and almost inevitable process in the landscape of Italy'.⁷¹ Like the aforementioned critiques, these one-sided sources emphasise only the more lettered part of society.⁷² Although Patterson's focus at first sight seems an ideal way to shed the presented historiographical burden, he fails to develop a systematic approach to evaluate the validity of a supposed crisis. Therefore, as it is clear that the classical '2nd-century AD crisis' theory cannot uncritically be applied to all Italic contexts, I will now

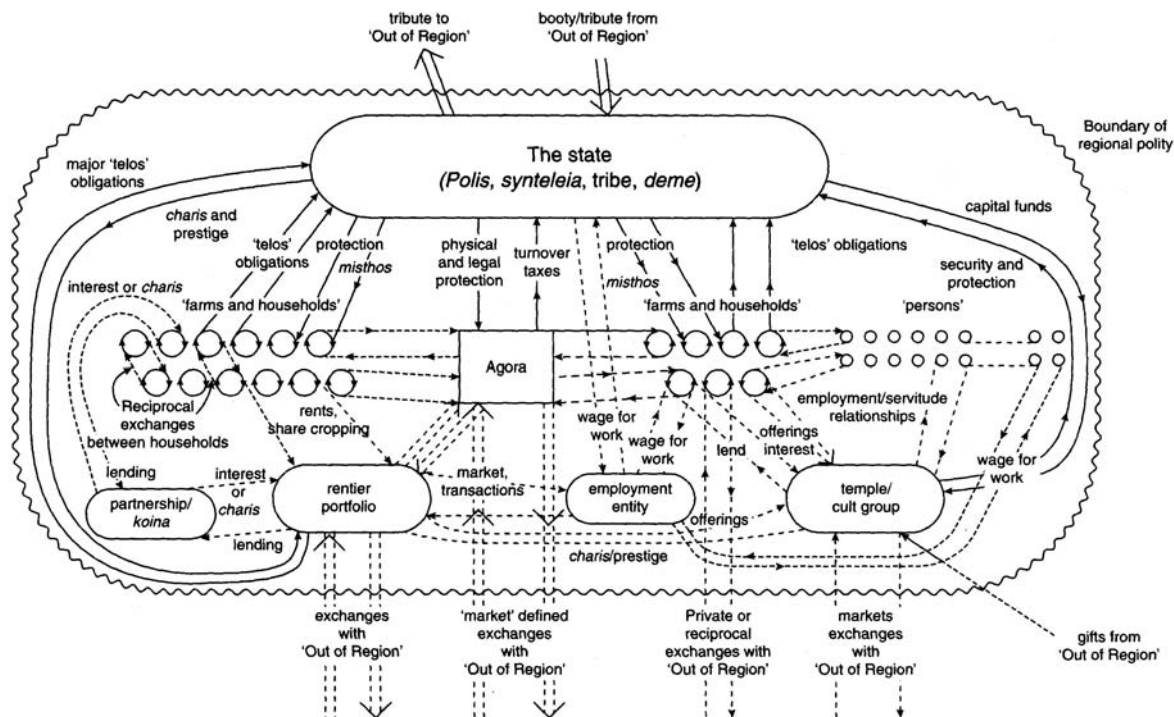


Fig. 3. Davies' model. A flow diagram of resource movement (Davies 1998, fig. 11.3).

propose an alternative, archaeological, bottom-up approach that can counterbalance this one-size-fits-it-all idea. This methodology, based on a model of John Davies in order to prevent a lapse into modernistic interpretations, will enable us to judge if the 'commercial and agricultural activities' of a city and its territory were *really* drastically reduced in (or even during specific periods of) the 2nd century AD, or if this interpretation was unjust formulated.

METHODOLOGY

Any methodology for the identification of a crisis in antiquity needs to depart from a contextualisation of the city and its territory in its wider geographical and socio-economical context. The concept of 'region' seems a useful tool for such a systematic description. As Italy consists of landscapes as different as the mountainous Apennines, the Po Plain and the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic coastlines, it seems possible to geographically demarcate regions across the peninsula.⁷³ However, Reger recently noted that the definition of a 'region' implies a range of other significances.⁷⁴ He pointed out that 'regional identity can be sought in polity, ethnicity and culture' and stressed that an

archaeological 'region' may 'simply be an artefact of research', since its delineation varies, depending on whether it is defined by the consumption or production of material culture.⁷⁵ Defining a region is consequently far from straightforward. The Augustean *Regiones* of Italy for instance are administrative units that seldom show a geographical, let alone archaeological similarity. These considerations teach us that the first step of our methodology has to define this versatility of 'regions' to which a city belongs, *a priori* starting from the available secondary literature.

Secondly, our methodology needs to describe in more detail the socio-economic characteristics of such a 'region'. Frequently, models are used to understand different regional and local economic transactions in a systematic manner, the way they are archaeologically visible and the reason(s) for their eventual changes.⁷⁶ The model of John Davies seems to provide a firm background for the second step of our methodology, as it strongly emphasizes that the ancient economy was not entirely market-oriented and consequently overtly counterbalances the presented modernistic vision (of slave-run villas and their production for export) (fig. 3).⁷⁷

Davies makes clear how the sum of essential movements within an economic system consists

of 'exchanges', but also of unidirectional flows of goods, services or money. These transactions were taking place in and between economic cell structures that range from an individual cell as big as a Robinson Crusoe island to contacts which transgress the boundaries of *municipia* or provinces. Davies presents his model in three - definitely not chronological - stages. Stage 1, for which he considers the household as a basic unit, is the simplest level in the economic system. Besides transactions between households (e.g. transactions between typical farms, labour of tenants), Davies stresses the importance of a kind of market place where some of these transactions and other external contact could take place. Stage 2 incorporates entities which exceed the sheer pursuit of autarky. In this stage we can include more market-oriented units such as, for example, landowners of slave-run villas, private employers such as mines, artisanal workshops, religious organizations such as temples and sanctuaries or partner organisations (e.g. *collegia*). Finally, Stage 3 completes Davies' scheme, incorporating the actions brought on by the Roman state. This stage, which distinguishes the Roman economy from other pre-modern economies, covers political and military services, taxes, wages paid by state companies, redistributions to other Roman provinces (e.g. *limes*, *Urbs*), the impact of the army on a regional economy, etc. All of these stages were in reality interacting with each other (fig. 3).⁷⁸ Instead of using this model explicitly to organise the knowledge about a 'region', our methodology would like to use it implicitly as a guideline. The model helps us to systematically consider the plurality of socio-economical spheres of which a 'region' consists. Consequently, this 'second step' of our methodology will necessarily be closely knit with the description of a region's characteristics.

A last step of our methodology for tracing an economic crisis in antiquity has to focus both on the available archaeological data in the city and its territory. Davies makes clear that in antiquity cities and their hinterland were communicating vessels which needed one another to survive. This implies that if the Italic countryside got hit by a crisis, this would have had serious repercussions on the Italic cities, because artisans, merchants and other city dwellers were largely dependent on the agricultural production of their rural fellows. If a decrease in settlement density in some regions constitutes the archaeological proof of an economic crisis, then the artisanal production in the neighbouring town(s) should also testify to reduced activity.⁷⁹ Our methodology therefore has to con-

sider carefully data from rural surveys, as well as the eventual changes in extension, infrastructure, production and consumption in the city. A methodologically correct urban survey can point out if a city is shrinking, a possible sign of decline. As an abrupt stop of infrastructure works (e.g. roads, depots) can reflect a period of economic difficulties, it is necessary to check if a city and region remain as connected to the wider world as before by roads over land and water, or if there are observable signs of abeyance. A last part of our focus on the city has to verify whether there are substantial changes in artisanal production (e.g. wool, ceramics, metal, etc.) or consumption of particular, archaeologically traceable products (ceramics, content of amphorae, mammal and fish bones, etc.). In contrast to a one-sided focus on the monuments of a city or ancient texts, observations of changes in a wide array of archaeological patterns (settlement patterns, artisanal activities etc.) can lead to a detailed assessment of a city's diachronic economic welfare. A disadvantage of this method is that it is largely dependent on the available archaeological data for a city and region. The excavations of numerous Imperial Italic cities probably did not always yield enough information to make substantial conclusions about their economic history. Nevertheless, this bottom-up approach provides a way out of the deterministic and pan-Italic framework and gives an impetus to write histories on the micro-level by means of archaeological data. Notwithstanding the mentioned difficulties, I will apply now this methodology to *Altinum* in order to evaluate the presumed '2nd-century crisis' for the town.

CASE STUDY: *ALTINUM* AND *VENETIA*

Characterising the regions of Altinum

From Augustean times onwards, *Altinum* made part of the X Regio '*Venetia et Histria*' (figs 1, 4). But it is logical that this administrative region was not characterised by homogeneous (economic) characteristics.⁸⁰ The region *Venetia* as defined by Pliny (HN 3.126) and Livy (5.33.10) has a for Italy unique ecological particularity.⁸¹ The landscape of this part of *Gallia Cisalpina* is distinguished by the specific succession of the Adriatic Sea, the lagoons, the fertile plains, and the low and high Alpine mountains.⁸² Intraregional communication was facilitated by an abundance of rivers.⁸³ Nonetheless Pliny describes the inhabitants of *Venetia et Histria* as belonging to different ethnic groups (HN 2.227); the cities of Este, Asolo, Padua, Vicenza,

Oderzo and Altino were considered as part of the territory of the *Veneti* (fig. 1).⁸⁴ During the Iron Age, this ethnic group seems to characterise *Venetia* by means of a common language, religion, and material culture.⁸⁵

Commonly, it is stated that the so-called Romanisation of Northern Italy erased a lot of the specific regional characteristics of *Venetia*.⁸⁶ Its friendly relationship with Rome and its opening up to the remainder of the peninsula, would have caused *Venetia* to conform to a globalizing 'Roman culture', visible in a uniform architecture, material culture, and way of life.⁸⁷ Recent discussions note that this cultural process cannot be considered that simple and call for a more regional approach and a critical use of the concept of Empire.⁸⁸ However, the classical idea of a predominating Roman culture and the emphasis on monumentality made Roman archaeologists working in the Veneto focus mainly on 'typically Roman' and displayable tablewares and amphorae and much less on local and regional common wares from this period. This bias in archaeological data-collection impedes a straightforward archaeological delineation of the region(s) to which *Altinum* belonged. A definition of 'production regions' on the basis of tablewares and amphorae, the best documented 'Roman' find categories, does not seem very useful for this purpose. Although most tablewares recovered in *Venetian* cities - besides some typical Arretine *sigillata* and a few variants from all over Italy, Gaul and the Roman East - were produced in Northern Italy itself, the production centres of this *sigillata Padana* cannot be localized more precisely, but they are certainly not restricted to *Venetia* only.⁸⁹ Furthermore, insufficient study of the later *sigillata tardopadana*, typical of Northern Italy between the Flavian period and the 3rd century AD, indirectly reinforced the '2nd century crisis' idea.⁹⁰ Amphorae reflect similar problems as the fine ware pottery. Besides some 'exotic' specimens, most of the studied amphorae of the cities of *Venetia* were produced in Central Adriatic Italy and Istria. Evidence for large scale amphorae production in Northern Italy is rather scarce.⁹¹ Wine amphorae, such as the Lamboglia 2, Dressel 6A, Dressel 2-4, and *anfora a fondo piatto* types, were most frequently found, but are not attributable to a well-defined production region, certainly not only to *Venetia* (figs 7, 8).⁹² Our knowledge about oil amphorae is even less certain as recent studies point out that some Dressel 6B amphorae, traditionally only ascribed to Istria, were possibly produced in the Po Plain.⁹³ Only few production places for fish sauce are presently known for the North-

ern Italian coast. It seems however reasonable that we are currently underestimating this production.⁹⁴ Consequently, as the result of the bias towards typically 'Roman' material and the vastness of the production areas of tableware and amphorae, it does not seem possible to archaeologically delineate a production region as specific as *Venetia*. On the other hand, as *Venetia* imported many more products from the Aegean than from the Western Mediterranean because of easy supply by Adriatic shipping routes, it can roughly be identified as a 'region' based on consumption.⁹⁵ Nonetheless *Venetia* has some specific administrative, geographical, ethnic, archaeological, etc. features; *Altinum*'s 'regions' do evidently not all coincide with this 'artificial' unit. However, as secondary literature focus persistently on the *Venetia* region in its classical sense, for convenience we will take this Augustean region as a starting point for the characterization of the 'regions' of *Altinum*.

Modern literature sketches some salient features of *Venetia* that are related to its geographical outline. Several authors picture how its agriculture was intensified after the construction of centuriation fields and the settling down of *coloni* in *Gallia Cisalpina*, but that as a result, small to medium-sized landownership prevailed in this part of the X *Regio*.⁹⁶ Large slave-run *latifundi*, as described by Carandini, seem to have barely spread in *Venetia*.⁹⁷ Archaeological and historical evidence seem to confirm this assertion. Busana for instance notes that the rural settlements of *Venetia* are relatively small in comparison with those in Central Italy. She further suggests that their technical and planimetric characteristics can inform us about economic activities performed here and the (limited) extension of their *fundus*.⁹⁸ Nonetheless, the example of the enormous villa of Venezia Nuova in the Valli Grandi Veronesi demonstrates that a small part of the *Venetian* economy exceeded the level of mere autarky.⁹⁹ By means of epigraphical evidence on amphorae it is also suggested that some members of the local elite invested in the production and transport of olive-oil and wine.¹⁰⁰ However, historical sources corroborate the prevalence of small and medium-sized property as they hardly mention any large landowners.¹⁰¹

Sheep breeding is another distinctive characteristic of Roman *Venetia*.¹⁰² On analogy with Central Italy, agriculture and sheep breeding in *Venetia* were traditionally seen as discordant economic activities. Since the establishment of centuriation fields, an extensive system of transhumance would have existed which led numerous flocks of sheep

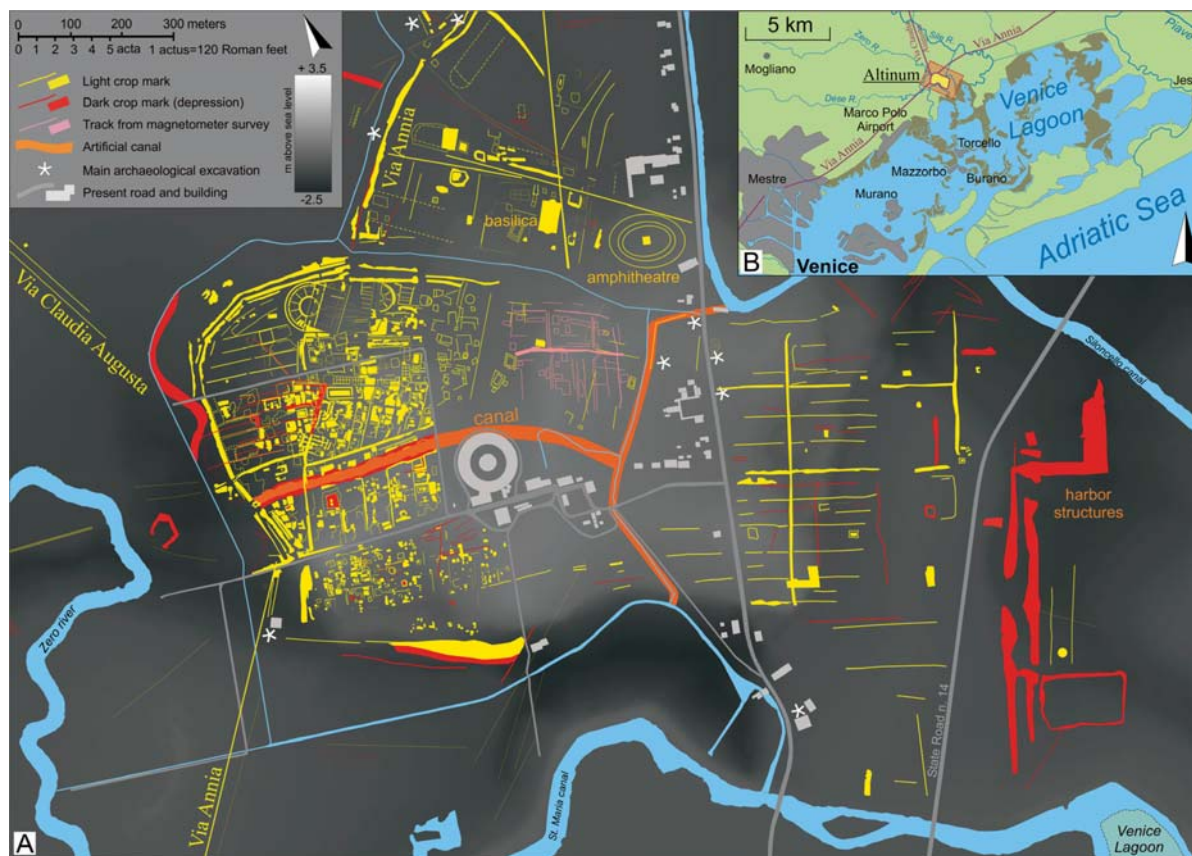


Fig. 4. (A) Map of the Roman city of Altinum (B) Geographic setting; grey: urban areas; brown: salt marshes; green: alluvial plain and coastal areas (Ninfa et al. 2009, fig. S2; reprinted with permission from AAAS).

to the nearby mountains, to prevent crop damage in the plains during spring and summer. However, Bonetto recently suggested that this system may perhaps fit for profit-oriented *latifondisti* operating between the Central Apennines and coastal plains, but that sheep breeding was organized differently in *Venetia* because of its differing regional features.¹⁰³ Based on Varro (*Rust.* 2.3; 9.10), he stated that contrary to the existence of large flocks in Central Italy, the small to medium-sized landowners of *Venetia* possessed rather small flocks of sheep. Bonetto emphasised that the existence of extensive transhumance to the nearby mountains is exaggerated and pled for a more complementary relationship between agriculture and pastoralism in the plain.¹⁰⁴ Nonetheless, the ready availability of salt in the nearby lagoons (a necessary mineral for sheep), the quick geographical succession of plains and low and high Alpine mountains (ideal for the practice of transhumance), and the strong synergy between pastoralism and agriculture, rendered sheep breeding and the processing of

their secondary products an important part of *Venetia*'s economy.

This balanced co-existence of agriculture and pastoralism to fulfil the needs of the local small and medium-sized landowners, contrasts sharply with a tendency in literature that considers *Venetia* as a bulwark of extensive trade with the Transalpine provinces.¹⁰⁵ According to this modernistic view of the economy of the *Alto Adriatico*, the Roman conquest of the Northern provinces opened up an enormous market for products from the Po Plain. The most radical current within this tendency assumes that Italic merchants started to invest in this trade between Northern Italy and *Noricum*, *Pannonia* (and later on *Raetia* and *Vindelica*) after the fall of Delos in 89 BC.¹⁰⁶ Within the traditional view, Mansuelli explained how the flourishing of the North Italic cities was the result of their commercial relations with the Transalpine provinces and how the loss of these contacts (because of provincial economic emancipation), resulted in a serious crisis.¹⁰⁷ Not infrequently, the

close commercial relations with *Noricum* and *Pannonia* are illustrated by the vast presence of Roman material in the settlement of Magdalensberg (*Noricum*).¹⁰⁸ However, in line with Davies' model it is likely that this trade was only a secondary phenomenon.¹⁰⁹ The mercantile town of Magdalensberg is not representative for all (trans)Alpine settlements. Italic merchants did import typical (Italic) products such as olive-oil, olives, wine, tablewares, etc. to these regions, but these were relatively limited in number, as most perishable goods (grain, meat, fruit, vegetables, etc.) were produced locally.¹¹⁰ An eventual loss of these commercial relations in the 2nd century AD would probably not have had serious repercussions for the local farmers of *Venetia*. Since the amphorae production of Northern Italy is considered as insignificant and the estates were small to medium-sized, the share of market-oriented units in *Venetia*'s economy seems rather limited, though it is clear that *Venetia* played an important role in the trade between Central Italy and the Northern provinces. In addition, Tassaux pointed out recently that the idea of a 2nd-century decline of this supposed extensive trade, is mainly based on an exaggerated focus on the Dressel 6A, Dressel 6B and Dressel 2-4 amphorae (figs 7, 8). Considering that wooden barrels and flat bottom amphorae are respectively archaeologically less traceable and studied, he does argue for an ongoing trade between Italy and the Transalpine provinces from Caesar up until the Severan dynasty.¹¹¹ Permanent and temporary military presence in Northern Italy also had an important impact on *Venetia*'s economy.¹¹² Bearing Davies' model in mind, *Venetia* can be described as a region with a majority of small to medium-sized landowners and a minority that were more market-oriented (fig. 3). Building on these insights, the last step of our methodology can now proceed to the evaluation of the epistemological basis of the traditionally supposed '2nd-century AD crisis' for *Altinum*.

Back to the data: revealing patterns in territory and town

Altinum: territory

As explained above, our methodology will firstly focus on the available data from the town's territory. The territory of the *municipium Altinum* consisted of centuriation fields, pastures, woods, swamps and other lands outside the *centuriatio*.¹¹³ There exists an extensive discussion about the exact position and measurements of the centuri-

ation fields of *Altinum*.¹¹⁴ Apart from the 19th-century research of the *Reale Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria*, only the University of Padua's Ca' Tron project systematically procures archaeological information about a part of *Altinum*'s territory.¹¹⁵ This interdisciplinary project aims to reconstruct the history of the Ca' Tron estate, an area of about 1137 hectares, situated to the northeast of the ancient town centre.¹¹⁶ An archaeological survey in this area (786 ha) revealed nine Roman sites, situated predominantly in the higher eastern and northern parts of the estate.¹¹⁷ Most of these sites can be dated between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD. Only two of them, *villa rustica* A (larger site, presence of mosaics and stucco) and complex M (medium-sized site), survive into the 2nd century AD. Busana has used this survey data to plead for a 2nd-century AD economical-settlement crisis in *Altinum*'s territory. She stressed that this data, together with the example of the surviving villa of Venezia Nuova and other settlements from the adjacent territories of *Patavium* and *Concordia*, endorses the idea of estate accumulation for *Venetia*.¹¹⁸ Busana likewise elucidated that the crisis which struck the whole of Italy, manifested itself with varying strength in *Venetia*.¹¹⁹ In her research on the villas of the *X Regio* De Franceschini at first sight confirmed this idea. She argued that the barbarian threat of the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi* on the Northern imperial borders from 166 AD onwards, the unrelentingly commercial competition between provinces, the concentration of property 'in the hands of a few', and the demographical Italic crisis as a result of the Antonine plague, implied a serious menace for the welfare of the *Venetian* economy.¹²⁰ However, she contrastively argued elsewhere that 'the villa economy of the *X Regio* demonstrated a surprising vitality contrary to the rest of Italy and Gaul' because '90% of the villas survive into the 3rd century and 76% into the 4th century AD'. She explained this elevated survival-rate by the fact that the Roman army at the Northern borders still constituted a substantial market for the villas of *Venetia*. Her conclusions may be criticized because, besides being heavily influenced by the ideas of Rostovtzeff, Carandini and Gibbon, De Franceschini only discussed the most monumental settlements (with clear walls and foundations) of *Venetia et Histria* and consciously left so-called 'ghost-sites' (with only concentrations of *tesserae*, ceramics, bricks or tiles) out of consideration. As rural surveys all over Italy indicate the survival of larger villas in particular from the 2nd century AD onwards, it is clear that considering only these

examples gives a distorted view of what happened in this period. However, notwithstanding the scarce archaeological data for *Altinum's* territory, we can suggest a change in settlement pattern during the 2nd century AD. This does not have to be *a priori* a negative development albeit our historiographical research has demonstrated that this is how it has often been seen in the past. To verify this negative view we need to focus on the available data on the extension, infrastructure, production and consumption of the town *Altinum*. Only reduced activity in the city can confirm an eventual economic crisis in the countryside.¹²¹

Altinum: town.

Recently a detailed map of *Altinum* has been produced by means of aerial photographs and a DEM (fig. 4).¹²² However, unlike many other Italic cities, a systematic archaeological urban survey has never been carried out for the town of *Altinum*.¹²³ As Altino was never superseded by medieval or modern constructions, such a survey would have the potential to reveal the city's extent through the ages (fig. 2). Nonetheless, a drastic reduction of the town's extent in the 2nd century AD is supposed without such survey data.¹²⁴ This interpretation is based on two small excavations in the centre of the town, and therefore seems problematic.

In evaluating the validity of the supposed local '2nd-century crisis', it is important to note that, besides the fact that most excavations in Altino were unsystematic and their publications widely disjoint, the present archaeological record of *Altinum* predominantly contains data from the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD. Recently, the absence of data from pre-Roman Altino was addressed to some extent by new research on this period. But the period from the 2nd century AD onwards remains inadequately documented.¹²⁵ This lack of data does not *a priori* hint to a general crisis. Most excavations at *Altinum* were conducted in the Augustean and Julio-Claudian *necropoleis* close to the main traffic arteries of the city (fig. 4).¹²⁶ Consequently, the idea that a remarkable population drop struck the city in the 2nd century AD, is more a reflection of the fact that the later cemeteries, further from the urban centre, are poorly excavated, than an ancient reality.¹²⁷ Before the groundbreaking results of the recent mapping of *Altinum*, the internal structure of the town was hardly known (fig. 4). As only limited excavations were carried out in the town centre, and neighbouring cities seem to have used *Altinum* as a quarry in medieval and modern times,

until recently only sporadic finds illustrated its monumental nature.¹²⁸ A few epigraphic fragments inform us about the construction of a temple, porticos, and gardens during the consulship of Tiberius (CIL V 2149); the construction of a theatre (CIL V 2185) and interestingly, the 2nd-century AD restoration of the *balinea* of *Altinum*.¹²⁹ Furthermore, a suburban villa near to the Sioncello and a *domus* near to the present archaeological museum, both dated in the 2nd century AD, have been excavated (fig. 2).¹³⁰ Even though the evidence on the extension and (ongoing) building activity at *Altinum* is extremely scarce, it does not argue convincingly for a general crisis in the town in the 2nd century.

Traditionally, Roman *Altinum's* position at the junction of several roads is said to have advantaged its commercial role (fig. 1).¹³¹ As the town was opened up by an extensive road system to the other cities of *Venetia*, Italy and the Transalpine provinces and equipped with a substantial harbour structure (e.g. docks, channels, and depots), an economic crisis would possibly be visible in a disintegration of this infrastructure.¹³² Again, there is scarce evidence to reveal such phenomena in the 2nd century AD.

A 3rd-century inscription from *Aquileia*, which mentions the decay of the *Via Annia* as the result of lagoonal floods (CIL V 7992), is traditionally used as an argument in favour of a '2nd-century crisis' in *Altinum*, arguing that as the result of reduced commercial activities, this important road had become defunct.¹³³ On the other hand, it seems possible to interpret this fragment as evidence for the repair of a part of the *Via Annia* which had been damaged by lagoonal floods. The occurrence of the *Via Annia* in the later *Itinerarium Antonini* and *Tabula Peutingeriana*, and the erection of milestones on this road in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, seem to indicate that the *Via Annia* did not suffer from a deep crisis in the 2nd century AD.¹³⁴

Several classical historical sources emphasise the importance of the lagoonal routes between Ravenna and *Aquileia* and mention how these traversed the present lagoon of Venice and were connected with *Altinum* (fig. 1).¹³⁵ Although Dorigo persistently advocated a dry lagoon for the Roman era,¹³⁶ it seems reasonable that the features of the Roman lagoon were quite similar to the present one.¹³⁷ Because of its humid conditions, a systematic archaeological survey has never been carried out in the lagoon of Venice. However, the immense amount of archaeological data that amateur archaeologist Ernesto Canal collected here randomly during the last forty years, allows us to

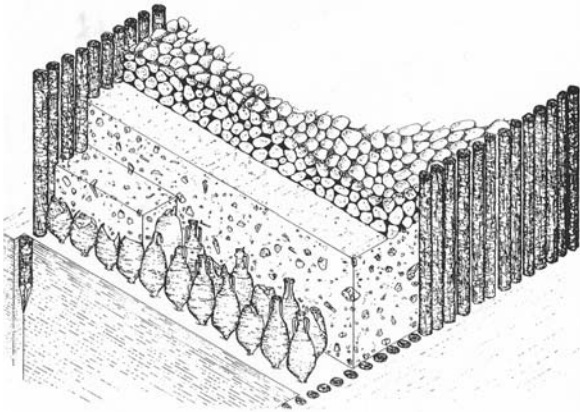


Fig. 5. Argine of Canale dell'Arco from the lagoon of Venice, strengthened with amphorae (Fozzati/ Toniolo 1998, fig. 1).

evaluate the chronological development of the lagoonal routes.¹³⁸ Most of the material consisted of amphorae, probably used for infrastructure works in the lagoon.¹³⁹ The banks of channels and waterways which ran through the Roman lagoon were, amongst other materials, strengthened with amphorae from nearby cities (fig. 5).¹⁴⁰ As the edges of these tow paths and banks were mainly consolidated with Dressel 2-4, Dressel 6A and Dressel 6B amphorae, their initial construction can be situated between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD. However, several of these structures (e.g. Canale San Felice, Canale Rigà, etc.) have been repaired with *anfore a fondo piatto* and other 2nd- and 3rd-century AD amphorae (e.g. Tripolitana 1, Late Roman 3, Africana 1, etc.), which demonstrates how the infrastructure of the lagoonal network was still maintained in the 2nd century AD (figs 7, 8).

The seaport of *Altinum*, situated near the present mouth of San Nicolò, cannot be dated exactly.¹⁴¹ Nonetheless, the dating of Roman anchors, found in the deep sea in front of the port, demonstrates that during the 2nd century AD maritime traffic was maintained.¹⁴² Most commercial buildings in the centre of *Altinum* are dated to the Republican or Augustean periods, as is the monumental northern city gate. Nevertheless, a building with porticos excavated in *località I Portoni*, has been interpreted as a depot and dated to the 2nd or early 3rd century AD.¹⁴³ The construction of this large commercial building does not seem to confirm the '2nd-century crisis' idea. Although there are not abundant data, it does not seem that the infrastructure of *Altinum* experienced any turmoil during the 2nd century AD.



Fig. 6. Firmalamp stamped ANDRIA. Probably produced at Altinum during the 2nd century AD (Valleri 2003, fig. 1, c-d).

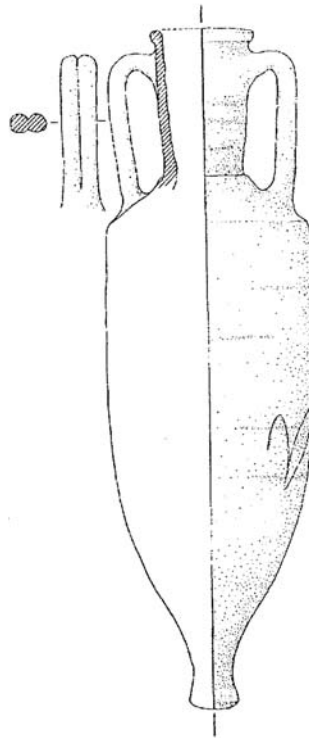


Fig. 7. Dressel 2-4 amphora from Altinum (Toniolo 1991, fig. 16).

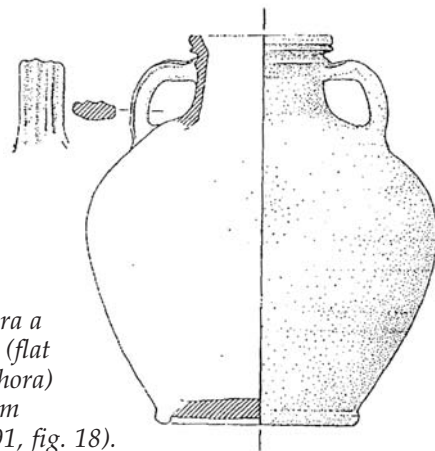


Fig. 8. *Anfora a fondo piatto* (flat bottom amphora) from Altinum (Toniolo 1991, fig. 18).

As outlined above, the last part of our methodology will try to focus on production and consumption patterns within the town. Only a serious reduction in production or a general switch in consumption would substantiate the idea of a '2nd-century AD crisis' for *Altinum*. However, there is only evidence for the production of ceramics (and their eventual content), wool and the farming of crustaceans.

Although the exact location of the *sigillata Padana* workshops is unknown, there is never supposed a local *terra sigillata* production for *Altinum*.¹⁴⁴ The 1985 catalogue and its recent update consequently only present the imported tablewares of *Altinum*, which date predominantly to the 1st centuries BC and AD.¹⁴⁵ From the 487 artefacts discussed by Ravagnan for instance, nearly all of them were found in the necropolis near the *Via Claudia Augusta* and the *Via Annia* (or their find location remains unknown). Consequently, the authors also underline this bias: the presently known *terra sigillata* of *Altinum* does not simply reflect a '2nd-century AD crisis'. Tablewares are simply not as frequently excavated for this period.

The oil lamps found in *Altinum* are catalogued in a similar fashion to the tablewares. It is striking that oil lamps are collected from different contexts all over the town, unlike the tableware record.¹⁴⁶ The 205 discussed artefacts can be ascribed to at least 41 different manufacturers, including *Fortis*, *Vibianius*, *C. Dessius*, *Strobilius*, etc. Most of them are found in large numbers in other cities of *Gallia Cisalpina*, apart from productions carrying the stamp *Aper/F*, *Cai*, *Orientalis* and *Sca.Aper/F*, which were probably produced outside Northern Italy. Although 2nd-century AD examples remain relatively scarce, the types *Cai* and *Sca* can surely be dated to this period. Contrary to the ideas of Ravagnan, Valleri supposed local oil lamp production for *Altinum* because of the following evidence: the excavation of a deposit of iconographically similar lamps near to the *Via Annia* and another one of 21 similar types at the north-eastern edge of the town; the presence of production signs on the back of these lamps and the discovery of a mould of the *Buchi X-a* type. The find of a Firmalamp stamped ANDRIA (second half of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century AD), which is only known at *Altinum*, strengthens this hypothesis as this *cognomen* is also encountered in the local necropolis (fig. 6).¹⁴⁷ Nonetheless the evidence for production and consumption of oil lamps after the 1st century AD remains scanty, again this seems the result of excavation bias, rather than the reflection of an economic crisis.

The only detailed information for obvious ceramic production in *Altinum* comes from an artisanal quarter in its *suburbium*.¹⁴⁸ In an Augustean to 3rd-century suburban villa in this quarter, structures linked to the production of ceramics (a kiln, two vats for the processing of clay, and a network of water supply channels) have been found and the presence of other kilns is implied by the strong red-coloured subsoil and the abundance of wasters. North of these structures, near to the *Via Annia*, two other kilns have been excavated, in which a wide range of ceramic artefacts seem to have been produced (vessels, cups, pots, lids, net sinkers, loom weights, heating pipes, etc.). Although local ceramic production is clearly attested, it is difficult to ascertain whether or not this production declined in the 2nd century AD. At least, this workshop seems to have been maintained.

As amphorae are often considered an indicator for trade, they were consequently also frequently used in the argumentation for a '2nd-century AD crisis' in Italy.¹⁴⁹ Traditionally a case has been made for the dwindling number of 2nd-century amphorae in *Altinum*, interpreted in line with Panella's theory as a sign of the decline of the town and the broader phenomenon of estate accumulation in Northern Italy.¹⁵⁰ However, as we have argued above, this application can be criticised since 2nd-century AD Italic amphorae were not *a priori* fewer in number, but until recently rather less investigated and typologically less well-known than their forerunners.¹⁵¹ Similar to other Roman cities of *Venetia*, amphorae were used in *Altinum* for constructions in the centre of the town. The predilection of classical archaeology for these contexts made that disproportionately less amphorae were excavated from 2nd-century AD contexts.¹⁵² Moreover, non-ceramic containers were used more frequently from this period. For *Altinum* wooden barrels for instance were a possible alternative, since wood was definitely available here as epigraphical sources inform us about a collaboration between foresters of nearby *Feltria* and carpenters of the lagoonal town (fig. 1).¹⁵³

As a consequence, it has been pointed out recently that *Altinum's* complex panorama of amphorae did not change substantially in the 2nd century AD.¹⁵⁴ Most of the amphorae are Italic in nature but from the Augustean period onwards amphorae were also imported from the provinces. The 2nd-century AD wine (predominantly flat bottom) amphorae were, in comparison to the preceding period, still mainly Italic in origin. Some of them, as the *Amphores Crétoises* 1 and Mid Roman 8 amphorae, were imported from Cyrenaica

between the end of the 1st and the mid 3rd century AD. 2nd-century oil amphorae on the other hand, are represented by Dressel 6B amphorae, *anfore con collo ad imbuto*, *anforette nord-italiche* and also some African amphorae such as Tripolitana 2 (fig. 8).¹⁵⁵ This new varied picture of the 2nd-century amphorae of *Altinum* contradicts the thesis that the imported African and Spanish amphorae hint at the 'concurrence of the provinces' and the Italic economy suffered a serious setback. This view was rather the result of limited knowledge of the *anforette nord-italiche* and *anfore a fondo piatto*, which are now better understood.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, local amphorae production for *Altinum* does not seem unrealistic, although evidence is extremely scarce.¹⁵⁷ Strabo (5.7.214) and Columella (*Rust.* 3.13.8) both point out that the climate around the Venetian lagoon was suitable for vineyards. Additionally, a deposit of *anfore a fondo piatto* has been found in the aforementioned production area near the *Via Annia*, which leaves the possibility of a 2nd-century production open (fig. 8).¹⁵⁸ In other words, the new amphorae evidence for *Altinum* does not confirm any more the classical '2nd-century AD crisis' idea.

As Roman *Venetia* was known for sheep breeding it is not surprising that several classical authors widely praised the wool production of *Altinum* (Varro, *Rust.* 1.2; Mart. 14.15; Columella, *Rust.* 7.2.3).¹⁵⁹ Sundry theories were expounded about the functioning of *Altinum* and nearby *Patavium*, apparently the largest wool production centres of *Gallia Cisalpina*. Recently Basso proposed, based on a model of Jongman, that *Altinum* only produced wool and exported this raw material to *Patavium*, where it would have been processed into tissues and cloth.¹⁶⁰ Literary sources seem to confirm this idea as for *Altinum* only the production of white wool is mentioned, while Martial (14.147) describes for *Patavium* the production of *gausapae*, very thick woollen blankets.¹⁶¹ On the other hand, epigraphic evidence informs us about the presence at *Altinum* of several *collegia* involved in textile production.¹⁶² Numerous lead plaques indicate textile trade.¹⁶³ Other archaeological evidence points to spinning and weaving activities in ancient *Altinum*. It is difficult to estimate the scale of these activities, but it seems reasonable to suppose that they were performed at the household level.¹⁶⁴ The exceptional finds of wooden reels, bone bobbins, and bronze hooks, point to the process of spinning. More material denotes weaving: numerous ceramic loom weights in the form of truncate cones (450-750 g) have been retrieved. Unfortunately, the contexts of these

finds are rarely datable, which makes it archaeologically difficult to say whether these artisanal activities are still ongoing in the 2nd century AD. Nonetheless, Diocletian's edict on maximum prices (301 AD) still mentions the precious *lana Altinata* and also Tertullian (160-230) describes the appreciated white wool of the lagoonal town (*De Pallio* 3.6). Consequently a '2nd-century crisis' scenario for the wool production of *Altinum* does not seem appropriate.

The last production activity for which the archaeological record of *Altinum* procures information is the farming of crustaceans. Pliny the Elder mentioned the delicious *pectines* as typical for *Altinum* (*HN* 32.150). Cao argued that these were *capesante*, specific small Adriatic mussels which have to be eaten uncooked. Consequently, she supposed only local consumption and stated that Pliny mentioned this crustacean because it fitted within the purpose of his encyclopaedia, namely describing natural particularities, rather than quoting a typical product of *Altinum*.¹⁶⁵ Further on, Cao cited Pliny's description of the intentional farming of crustaceans by the construction of artificial underwater biotopes with wooden post and cords (*HN* 9.160). Even though the farming of *pectines* by means of this technique is not attested at *Altinum*, there is archaeological evidence for the intentional cultivation of oysters.¹⁶⁶ Besides these 1st-century *ostrearia*, there are no other examples documented, which makes it difficult to guess if production persisted into the 2nd century AD.

Although data about production and consumption are not abundant, and too patchy to make thorough conclusions about the economic vigour of the lagoonal town in the 2nd century AD, most production activities seem to have been maintained. Data on amphorae imports and local wool production even illustrate economic continuity for the lagoonal town. Construction and restoration works also seem to go on during the 2nd century. Besides these arguments against a general crisis for *Altinum* in this period, it has become clear that the archaeological record of the town is largely biased. As repeatedly said, there is a prevalence of data from the 1st centuries BC and AD. Obviously, this imbalance does not simply prove a crisis from the 2nd century AD onwards, but rather reflects an emphasis in *Altinum*'s previous archaeological research. The scarcity of excavated urban contexts from the 2nd century AD does not confirm the supposed 'negative tendency' for the changing settlement patterns on the countryside. Rather, now we are aware of the deterministic nature of the classical '2nd-century crisis' idea, future

research can aim a more social and detailed understanding of this period of *Altinum's* history, without its previous historiographical burden.

CONCLUSION

The 2nd century AD in the Roman town *Altinum* (*Venetia*, Northern Italy) is traditionally described as a period of crisis. It is said that the commercial role of the town had become insignificant and that its territory was struck by a serious agricultural crisis. These economic upheavals had serious implications for the town resulting in less monumental buildings being constructed and a decrease in the consumption of tablewares and amphorae. Surprisingly, a similar crisis is supposed for the rest of this region and even the whole Italian peninsula.

This article criticises this traditional view and argues that the Italic '2nd-century AD crisis' idea is largely determined by the influential writings of Rostovtzeff and Carandini. Their modernistic and generalizing idea that an economic (and consequently general) crisis struck the whole Italian peninsula as the detrimental result of the competition between provinces is problematic in today's consensus about ancient economy, or citing Morley:

'The picture of crisis has clearly been overdrawn. What appears to be at stake is a crisis in a limited sector of the economy, the intensive slave-run villa producing wine for the market. The result was a decline, not of Italian agriculture or viticulture as a whole, but of a particularly intensive form of cultivation...'¹⁶⁷

Nonetheless, this idea has influenced lots of archaeologists in their interpretations. Parallel to Patterson's appeal for a focus on the micro-scale and the recognition of the particularities of the different Italic regions, I argue for a methodology that can verify the epistemological basis of such a crisis archaeologically. After a description of the 'regions' of a certain city (inspired by Davies' model), this methodology has to focus on the available data of a city and its territory. I argue that focussing on the data from the countryside together with the information on the extension, infrastructure, production and consumption of a certain city, can provide a more positive comprehension of this period.

Applying this methodology to *Altinum*, it becomes clear that the archaeological record of this town is largely biased. I would like to argue that notwithstanding the disproportional abundance

of material from the 1st centuries BC and AD, the lagoonal town was not struck by a serious crisis in the following century. In my opinion, a mixture of the scarcity of archaeological material from this period, the predilection of Italian classical archaeology for the era of monumental urban expansion and the influential historiographical determinism of the (modernistic) writings of Rostovtzeff and the School of Carandini, have incited the idea of a '2nd-century crisis' for *Altinum*. With such a case-study this article has attempted to clarify on how ideological concepts, expressed by means of a selection of historical sources and dispersed within specific scientific communities, can largely influence archaeological interpretation. Unlike the patchy results, the applied methodology has hopefully pointed out that a specific archaeological and critical attitude can generate an alternative interpretation.

NOTES

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¹ Bonetto 2009. Some sparse prehistoric finds indicate also earlier human presence in this area. The stable settlement originated on a few alluvial terraces between the estuaries of the local Sile, Dese and Zero rivers and the lagoonal area.

² Capuis/Gambacurta 2003. Archaeological evidence of a large commercial sanctuary, already present in the 5th century BC near to Altino's presumed harbour, points to the involvement in exchange networks with the *Piceni*, *Daunians* and *Etruscans* (e.g. *Adria* and *Spina*).

³ Azzara 1994, 18-33. The *Veneti* assisted Rome already in the 3rd century BC in their struggle against the *Boii* and *Insubres* and supported them during the Second Punic War (218-202 BC). Polyb. 2.23.3, 2.24.7. From the 2nd century BC onwards, the foundation of the Roman colony of *Aquileia* in 181 BC, the stationing of troops in the easternmost part of the region, the construction of transport roads (as the laying of the *Via Postumia* between *Genoa* and *Aquileia* in 148 BC, the construction of the *Via Popilia* in 132 BC between *Ariminum* and the *Venetia* region and the building of the *Via Annia* in 131 BC between *Aquileia* and *Atria*) with the remainder of the Italian peninsula and the colonization by Roman veterans of extensive areas around already existing local settlements as *Padova*, *Altino*, *Este* and *Oderzo*, left a more visible mark on *Venetia* and radically altered its former characteristics. The inhabitants of *Altinum* were granted the *Ius Latinum* in 89 BC and received

- Roman citizenship and the status of a *municipium* in 49 BC. *Altinum* is considered as an interesting case-study for the analysis of the changing characteristics of this Italic region during the 1st century BC given the archaeological potential of its extensive necropolis. For its so-called Romanisation see Cresci Marrone/Tirelli 1999.
- ⁴ The construction of the *Via Claudia Augusta* in 46 AD on the already existing *Via Drusus* from 15 BC, the development of the lagoonal routes between *Ravenna* and *Aquileia* and its substantial harbour infrastructure, the growth of the monumental centre of the town and the appearance of extensive *necropoleis* and well-built villas in its territory are commonly seen in the light of this economic boom of *Altinum*.
 - ⁵ Scarfi/Tombolani 1985, 85.
 - ⁶ Cresci Marrone/Tirelli 2003; Ghedini et al. 2002. Besides the supposed '2nd-century crisis' for *Altinum* and the fact that the climatological difficulties of the 3rd century could have worsened the already dwindling economic situation of the town, the seat of the episcopate of Grado still moved to *Altinum* in the 4th century.
 - ⁷ Ammerman/McClennen 2001.
 - ⁸ Tirelli 1995.
 - ⁹ De Franceschini 1998, 805. Nonetheless, she does not define the duration of this crisis into more detail. Busana 2002.
 - ¹⁰ Patterson 2006.
 - ¹¹ Cresci Marrone/Tirelli 2007. Nonetheless, the internal structure of the town has recently become much better known by a groundbreaking mapping project. See note 122.
 - ¹² On historiographical research for archaeology see Trigger 2006. On the relationship between ancient history and archaeology see Sauer 2004.
 - ¹³ Trigger 2006.
 - ¹⁴ For the first direct reference to the '2nd-century AD crisis' idea for *Altinum* see Scarfi/Tombolani 1985.
 - ¹⁵ Busana 2002, 235; Garnsey/Saller 1987, 59-60 and Goodman 1997, 194-195. One of the main points of critique to the use of the '2nd-century AD crisis' concept is the absence of subtle distinctions in its general chronological definition.
 - ¹⁶ Lo Cascio 1991, 358-365.
 - ¹⁷ Lo Cascio 1991, 701-721. During the period of *Raubkapitalismus* the elite would have been pursuing a surplus production based on the rational use of slaves and the large-scale export of olive-oil and wine.
 - ¹⁸ These references can be found in Busana 2002, 235 and Lo Cascio 1991, 313.
 - ¹⁹ Wes 1990; Shaw 1992. Rostovtzeff had strong political affiliations with the liberal party and the tsarist regime. After a stay in England, he was offered a chair in ancient history in 1926 and in classical archaeology in 1941 at the universities of Wisconsin and Yale respectively.
 - ²⁰ For the *SEHRE* see Rostovtzeff 1926. For the *SEHHW* see Rostovtzeff 1941.
 - ²¹ Salmeri 1999, 310-341.
 - ²² Rostovtzeff 1966, 93.
 - ²³ Rostovtzeff cited Columella's story about difficulties in Italic wine-growing (*Rust.* 1.1.18-20), referred to problems on Pliny the Younger's estate (*Ep.* 9.15) and paraphrased Domitian's wine edict prohibiting the cultivation of new grapevines on the Italian peninsula and ordering the provinces to destroy half of their vineyards (*Suet. Dom.* 7.2, 14.2).
 - ²⁴ He supposed the worsening conditions of the rural population on basis of the creation of the *alimenta* during Trajan's reign (*CIL* XI 1147; *CIL* IX 1455) and a fragment in which Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* 3.19) described the purchase of an estate neighboring his villa in *Comum* (or *Tifernum Tiberinum*, see also Patterson 1987). On the despair and poverty of the peasants see Rostovtzeff 1966, 100.
 - ²⁵ Salmeri 1999, 334-335. He emphasized, for example that Italy still had a large rural population, which was willing to take up service in the army because of its precarious conditions. Rostovtzeff 1966, 104-105, 204.
 - ²⁶ Shaw 1992, 221 and Salmeri 1999, 340-341. Salmeri links Rostovtzeff's writing style to the great Russian prose tradition. The clear contrast he makes between protagonists such as war and peace, city and countryside, rich and poor, etc. and his capacity to link great episodes together make Rostovtzeff's work a pleasant read. In this view Rostovtzeff's quote that 'history still remains a branch of literature' is interesting too. Rostovtzeff 1966, 7.
 - ²⁷ Bandelli 1999, 132-159.
 - ²⁸ Garnsey/Saller 1987, 60.
 - ²⁹ Wickham 1988, 183-193. Albeit originally educated within the School of Bianchi Bandinelli, Carandini quickly developed his own view as a professor of classical archaeology at the Università La Sapienza di Roma. He directed several large excavation projects in Carthage, Piazza Armerina, the Terme del Nuotatore at Ostia, the Palatine in Rome and the villa of Settefinestre.
 - ³⁰ Morley 2004, 22.
 - ³¹ Rathbone 1990, 195-196; Spurr 1985, 123-131. His conceptual framework is based on Marx's *Grundrisse* and the works of Staerman.
 - ³² Following Toynbee, he alleged that the second Punic War (218-202 BC) led to a drastic depopulation of Italy. Toynbee 1965, *passim*. The impossibility of small farmers to work their fields due to their obligatory army service, combined with migration to colonies outside Italy and the substantial proscriptions of the 1st century BC, led to the release of inexpensive lands. Meanwhile, Rome's expansive wars brought large quantities of slaves to the Italic market. Pucci 1985, 15-21.
 - ³³ Gabba/Pasquinucci 1979; Giardina 1981, 87-113.
 - ³⁴ Carandini 1985.
 - ³⁵ Lo Cascio 1982, 394-396. The use of slaves would have enabled the villa to export wine and olive oil to its hinterland and to Rome, but, given its monopoly position, to the western provinces especially.
 - ³⁶ Carandini 1989, 116-117.
 - ³⁷ Giardina 1997, 234-264. It is important to note for later critiques that emphasis is laid on this specific region.
 - ³⁸ Morley 1996, 135.
 - ³⁹ Panella 1989, 163-165.
 - ⁴⁰ For the *tota Italia* idea see Witcher 2006, 88. For a sharp critique on traditional Italian classical archaeology see Terrenato 2005. The ideas of the Carandini School, often developed on the basis of evidence from Central Italy, were also applied in Italian areas where socio-economic and geographical conditions were much different. This becomes also evident in other discussions. See for example Bonetto 2004, 58. In his study of pastoralism in *Gallia Cisalpina* Bonetto described how, for a long time, ideas about intensive transhumance of Central Italy were applied to North Italian contexts, without reckoning with the specific regional character of this area. See also for the discussion on sheep breeding notes 102-104.
 - ⁴¹ Shaw 1992.

- 42 Spurr 1985, 126.
- 43 Andrea Giardina however postulated that criticisms of Carandini's Marxist point of view place themselves out of the debate. Giardina 1997, 239.
- 44 Salmeri 1999, 319.
- 45 Patterson 2006, 69.
- 46 Duncan-Jones 1990, 140; Potter 1979, 141-142.
- 47 Harris 1993, 22.
- 48 Alcock 1993.
- 49 See note 40.
- 50 Bang 2008; Scheidel et al. 2007, 1-15.
- 51 Morley 2007, 1-16.
- 52 Davies 1998, 241.
- 53 Patterson 2006, 60-61.
- 54 Patterson 1985, 140.
- 55 Shaw 1992, 221. In this angle he had also connections with Eduard Meyer and Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf.
- 56 Vera 1995.
- 57 Flohr 2008.
- 58 Spurr 1985, 123-131.
- 59 Rathbone 1983, 160-168. The standard work *Società Romana e produzione schiavistica (SRPS)* for example states the period 200 BC-200 AD as a fixed chronological entity, but contains an article which suggests an embryonic SMP form for 3rd-century BC Latium. Most authors, however, place the origins of the slave-run villa system in the 1st century BC. Giardina/ Schiavone 1981.
- 60 Marzano 2007, 223-233.
- 61 Patterson 2006, 60; see also Purcell 1985; Tchernia 1986, 296.
- 62 Tchernia 1986. The crisis would be visible in the appearance of large quantities of provincial amphorae and less and smaller Italic amphorae. The first aspect is often illustrated by the apparent prevalence of African and Spanish amphorae in Ostia. Though, it is likely that Italic wine and olive oil were not transported to the *Urbs* through Ostia, but rather directly. For the second aspect: as Panella in 1989 still stated that there were no successors for the Tyrrhenian Dressel 2-4 amphorae and the Adriatic Dressel 6A, at the moment the Spello amphorae and other *anforette italice* are respectively documented as their 2nd-century substitutes.
- 63 See note 53.
- 64 In *Venetia*, the region of our case-study, slave-run villa's are nearly absent. See notes 96 and 97.
- 65 Morley 1996, 141.
- 66 Tainter argued with his general collapse-theory that societies invest more and more in complexity to overcome problems. However, at a certain moment a society will get less return-on-invest, and will either have to increase its complexity again (with a renewed risk of disappearance), or apply *resiliency* and reduce its complexity. Tainter 1988, 195; 2006. Applying this theory to the discussed slave-run villas, one can suppose that the so-called villa-systems enabled this *resiliency* to reorganize themselves into a less intensive system. Vera 1995, 195.
- 67 Carandini 1985.
- 68 Pesavento Mattioli 1998. See especially note 152.
- 69 Patterson 'tacitly encourages scholars to focus on local and regional developments and to write history on a micro-level rather than a macro-level'. Flohr 2008. By means of survey data, he illustrated for example how intensively cultivated Coastal Etruria, suburban South Etruria and the mountainous landscapes of *Samnium* and *Lucania* diverged in settlement density and rural exploitation, concluding that different phenomena are observable in 2nd-century Italy.
- 70 Patterson 2006. Although Patterson's account is an absolute must to grasp better the complex intertwinement of phenomena during the 2nd century AD, it is a confusing one as he describes and explains the socio-economic condition of Italic regions and towns at the same time.
- 71 Patterson 2006, 267-269.
- 72 See note 47.
- 73 Patterson 1987, 120.
- 74 Reger 2007.
- 75 Reger 2007, 67. For the historiographically difficult delineation of ethnic 'regions' see Jones 1997.
- 76 See note 30.
- 77 Davies 1998.
- 78 Davies 1998, 242-251.
- 79 Poblome 2006, 200-201.
- 80 See note 3.
- 81 Rosada 1992.
- 82 A passage of Livy (10.2.4-15), where he describes how scouts of the Spartan king Cleonimus report the same distinguishing features, points out that already in Roman times one was aware of this particularity. See Braccisi 1989.
- 83 Rousse 2006.
- 84 Azzara 1994, 22.
- 85 On the Iron Age Veneto see Capuis 1993. One of its specific characteristics was horse breeding.
- 86 On Roman *Venetia* in general see Buchi 1987. See also note 3.
- 87 On the Roman roads in the area see Bosio 1970 and Bosio/Rosada 1980. By means of written sources (Polyb. 2.28.2.), several authors describe the relation between the *Venetians* and the Roman 'oppressor' as friendly. See Cresci Marrone/Tirelli 1999.
- 88 Hingley 2005.
- 89 Mazzeo Saracino 2000. For a catalogue of the excavated tablewares for nearly all *Venetian* cities, see Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1992. The exact locations of production centres of the *sigillata Padana* remain highly hypothetical since, except the recent identification of a tableware workshop in Padua, their existence is implied by the presence of production waste. Schindler-Kaudelka/Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 2006; Cipriano et al. 2006. Archaeometrical studies assume the existence of 20 to 30 *sigillata Padana* ateliers all over Northern Italy. See Picon 1994.
- 90 Buchi 1987.
- 91 On the discussion about (the extension of) amphorae production in Northern Italy see Righini 2001. Over the last two decades, the numerous amphorae of the Roman cities of *Venetia*, have been extensively catalogued. See Cipriano/Ferrarini 2001; Pesavento Mattioli 1992, 2000; Toniolo 1991.
- 92 Tchernia 1986, 338-341. Traditionally wine amphorae (here for Northern and Central Italy) are ascribed to types with more or less clear chronological boundaries. The Lamboglia 2 amphora was produced between the 2nd and 1st century BC in the Central Adriatic. Nonnis 2001. Archaeometrical analyses cannot ascribe these amphorae to a more specific production-region. Its morphological successor, the Dressel 6A amphora, is produced between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD in the Central Adriatic and (possibly, as one excavated atelier and epigraphical evidence on these wine amphorae allows for ascribing certain productions to the *X Regio*) Northern Italy. Despite Tchernia's hypoth-

- esis that the wine of these amphorae was extensively exported to Rome, its distribution spread mainly to Northern Italy. Simultaneously, Dressel 2-4 amphorae were produced in the same area, sometimes even in the same ovens as the Dressel 6A amphorae (stamped by the same persons). This form was used throughout the Mediterranean possibly because of its overall recognisability as a wine amphora. The *anfora a fondo piatto* (flat bottom amphora) was produced between the mid 1st and the 3rd century AD and had several regional variants although most of them were produced around Forlìmpopoli. See Pesavento Mattioli 2000.
- ⁹³ Cipriano 2004. This production activity was probably economically relatively insignificant. Climatologically, olive oil production is primarily possible near Lake Garda, the Adriatic coastline and the Colli Euganei. Dressel 6B amphorae stamped with VARRI PACCI for example, are epigraphically attributed to Verona, while petrography points towards a production in the territory of ancient *Tarvisium*. Cipriano/ Mazzocchin 2004.
- ⁹⁴ Righini 2001.
- ⁹⁵ Toniolo 1996; Kozličić, 2006.
- ⁹⁶ Bandelli 1991, 89; Bonetto 2004, 58; Buchi 1987, 104-183 and Chevallier 1983, 232-233.
- ⁹⁷ De Franceschini 1998; Grassigli 1995, 221-240.
- ⁹⁸ Busana 1999, 2002. Busana based these arguments on Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.6.). Further on, she made an artificial distinction between small (129-160 m²) and larger (830-2700 m²) rural settlements and illustrated how the buildings of the first group are mostly rectangular in shape, consisted of interconnected rooms and are oriented outwards (centrifugal scheme). Larger examples on the other hand had a central courtyard, which constituted the pivotal space of the house, and had one open side (centripetal scheme).
- ⁹⁹ Busana 1999.
- ¹⁰⁰ Zaccaria 1989.
- ¹⁰¹ Bandelli 1991; Tassaix 2003.
- ¹⁰² Basso et al. 2004; Bonetto 2004.
- ¹⁰³ Bonetto 2004. See also notes 33 and 40.
- ¹⁰⁴ Besides farmers who owned some sheep, Martial (4.37) informed us that there were also independent shepherds who used publicly available pastures to tend their sheep.
- ¹⁰⁵ Baldacci 1967, 8; Chevallier 1983, 287; see also Tirelli 2001, 296.
- ¹⁰⁶ Baldacci 1967; Cipriano 2003.
- ¹⁰⁷ Mansuelli 1962.
- ¹⁰⁸ Schindler-Kaudelka/Zabehlicky-Scheffenegeger 2006; Tassaix 2004.
- ¹⁰⁹ Davies 1998, 239.
- ¹¹⁰ Schindler-Kaudelka/Zabehlicky-Scheffenegeger 2006, 154.
- ¹¹¹ Tassaix 2004, 193.
- ¹¹² Permanent presences, for example the fleet of Ravenna and detachments around Aquileia, were continuous economic actors (wood working was in this view also an important aspect of *Venetia*'s economy. See also note 153 and Buchi 1987, 120-125). The campaigns between 166 and 180 AD of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (who died at *Altinum* in 169 AD on his way back to Rome) at the Danube had a positive impact on *Aquileia* and probably on the whole economy of *Venetia*. On the importance of this factor see Buchi 1987.
- ¹¹³ Lacchini 1973.
- ¹¹⁴ Mengotti 1984.
- ¹¹⁵ Ghedini et al. 2002.
- ¹¹⁶ Mozzi 2005.
- ¹¹⁷ Busana 2007.
- ¹¹⁸ Busana 2002, 238.
- ¹¹⁹ Busana 2002, 235-236.
- ¹²⁰ De Franceschini 1998, 805.
- ¹²¹ Scarfi/Tombolani 1985, 75.
- ¹²² Ninfo et al. 2009. The first areal photographs were taken during a severe drought in July 2007.
- ¹²³ Patterson 2006, 13-17; Bonetto 2008.
- ¹²⁴ Scarfi/Tombolani 1985, 85.
- ¹²⁵ Cresci Marrone/Tirelli 1999 and also Bonetto 2009.
- ¹²⁶ Cresci Marrone/Tirelli 2005; Scarfi/Tombolani 1985, 103-158.
- ¹²⁷ Scarfi/Tombolani 1985, 85.
- ¹²⁸ Tombolani 1987, 331; Ninfo et al. 2009.
- ¹²⁹ Brusin 1928,
- ¹³⁰ Scarfi/Tombolani 1985, 83-93.
- ¹³¹ Tombolani 1987.
- ¹³² On the Roman roads of *Venetia* see Bosio 1970. *Altinum* was easily accessible by road but was also within easy reach of the Adriatic and its adjacent rivers. Further on, the lagoonal route between Ravenna and *Aquileia* is connected with *Altinum*'s port. See also Tirelli 2001 and note 3.
- ¹³³ Busana/Ghedini 2004.
- ¹³⁴ Basso 2002.
- ¹³⁵ Bosio/Rosada 1980 and Bosio 1984.
- ¹³⁶ Dorigo 1983.
- ¹³⁷ Ammerman 1999.
- ¹³⁸ Canal 1998.
- ¹³⁹ Modrzejewska 1993.
- ¹⁴⁰ Fozzati/Toniolo 1998.
- ¹⁴¹ Canal 1998, 45-55.
- ¹⁴² Beltrame 1993.
- ¹⁴³ Tirelli 2001, 313.
- ¹⁴⁴ Schindler-Kaudelka/Zabehlicky-Scheffenegeger 2006, 156.
- ¹⁴⁵ For the tableware catalogue see Ravagnan 1985. For its update see Cipriano/Sandrini 2005.
- ¹⁴⁶ Valleri 2003, 357.
- ¹⁴⁷ Valleri 2003, 357-359.
- ¹⁴⁸ This production area on the left bank of the Sioncello, close to the *Via Annia*, was ideally positioned for the supply of water and raw materials. See Cipriano/Sandrini 1998 and 2000.
- ¹⁴⁹ Toniolo 1991, 210. For the influential article on 2nd-century Italic amphorae see Panella 1989 and note 39.
- ¹⁵⁰ Malizia 1989, 636-637.
- ¹⁵¹ Patterson 2006, 60. See also notes 61 and 62.
- ¹⁵² Pesavento Mattioli 1998. She defended this view for several Venetian contexts. The predominance of 1st-century amphorae in the archaeological record of *Patauium* for instance, does not indicate a '2nd-century AD crisis' but rather reflects the more reduced use of *anfore a fondo piatto* in the construction of the monumental centre of the town (as the foundation of the main monuments was already laid down in the 2nd century AD) and the easy entanglement during determination of sherds of this type with other course wares. Pesavento Mattioli 1992, 161-166. Similar arguments are made for Modena and Este. See respectively Scotti 1988, 95-96; Toniolo 1988, 45-74. The amphorae of the Polesine on the other hand reflect more chronological variety because they are not only collected in the historical heart of a single city but across a much wider region. Toniolo 1987, 45-74.
- ¹⁵³ Salamito 1990.
- ¹⁵⁴ For the most recent interpretations see Cipriano 2003,

- 247; Tirelli/Toniolo 1998, 87. For the traditional catalogue of the amphorae of *Altinum* see Toniolo 1991.
- ¹⁵⁵ Cipriano 2003, 247-248.
- ¹⁵⁶ Modrzeweska 1993.
- ¹⁵⁷ Malizia 1989, 637.
- ¹⁵⁸ Cipriano/Sandrini 1998.
- ¹⁵⁹ Bonetto et al. 2004.
- ¹⁶⁰ Basso et al. 2004.
- ¹⁶¹ Cottica 2003.
- ¹⁶² Buonapane 2003. We know, for example, the *centonarii*, who collected old clothes and tissues and reworked them, the *lotores*, who washed textiles, and the *lanarii purgatores*, artisans who processed raw wool.
- ¹⁶³ Bizzarini 2005.
- ¹⁶⁴ Cottica 2003.
- ¹⁶⁵ Cao 2003.
- ¹⁶⁶ On the site of the Roman necropolis of Brustolade, north of the town, a large ditch (length 8-10 metres, breadth 3.5-4 metres) has been excavated, where in the 1st century BC an artificial rough underground of mortar and pebbles was created for the easy attachment of oysters. The construction of the necropolis concealed this deposit of *ostrea Edulis*. Other *ostrearia* in *Altinum* also came to an end in the 1st century BC, probably because of a changed water balance from salty to brackish.
- ¹⁶⁷ Balista/Sainati 2003.
- Morley 1996, 135.

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Siti costieri ed attività produttive nella Cirenaica tardoantica

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Abstract

The results of an archaeological dig carried out in 2008 in two Libyan coastal sites, Al Hamamah and El Ogla, together with a study of equally precious literary testimonies (Pseudo-Scylax, Strabo, Ptolemy, Stadiasmus Maris Magni, Itinerarium Antonini, Tabula Peutingeriana, Synesius of Cyrene), enable to identify modern El Ogla with ancient Ausigda. These data document the particular vivacity, rather than the decline, of the Cyrenaic coastal settlements in Late Antiquity and lead us to believe that the reworked products of the catch (fish sauce and salted fish, but also highly valued purple cloth), especially of tuna fishing, were not only destined for local consumption and use but were important either for trade and commerce with other Mediterranean areas - being, therefore, vital for the regional economy - or for enrichment opportunities and social mobility of local middle class, like in the case of Andronikos who, from simple thynnoskopos ('assigned to sighting the tuna'), became the praeses Lybiae Superioris in AD 411.

These reflections on the productive activities of Cyrenaic coastal sites have been confirmed by the particular curvilinear shape of El Ogla's bay. The site in fact lies on an eminence above a sheltered cove, protected at the north-east side by a low promontory and in the north-west by a second short promontory and an island; on the beach there are two circular vats and remains of some harbour infrastructures. These vats, considered 'storage tanks' by Jones and Little, very probably should be regarded as basins for the preparation of fish sauce and salted fish (garum and salsamenta), both products highly valued during the Roman Imperial period.

From Hellenism to Late Antiquity, the catch of crustaceans, molluscs and a great variety of fish (Plautus, Athenaeus, Synesius), among which the valuable tuna was surely practised along the North African and particularly Libyan coasts. The testimonies on the piscatio thynnaria (in a passage of the jurist Ulpian on a fundus maritimus in Byzacena) and on the particular strategy to capture tuna fish - which did not use the modern 'death room' in the open sea but achieved the tuna massacre directly on the beach (Oppianus Anazarbensis and Aelianus), and the processing of haul into 'enormous recipients' (ingentes lacus, as writes Manilius) - confirm either the natural 'predisposition' of El Ogla's concave bay to the encirclement of the tuna with fishing nets, or the use of the vats on the beach for fish-salting and garum production, circular structures very similar to others of 3rd century AD found at Berenike, Taucheira, Ptolemais and Apollonia.

INTRODUZIONE

Nel corso delle ricerche condotte tra il 19 gennaio ed il 4 febbraio 2008 dalla Missione Archeologica Italiana in Libia diretta da S. Tusa,¹ sono state effettuate due ricognizioni lungo le spiagge della Cirenaica ad est di Βερενίκη (moderna Bengasi), una, più analitica e sistematica, presso il sito, già noto, dell'antica Φυκοῦς (oggi Al Hamamah), ed un'altra, più limitata, nell'area dell'odierna El Ogla (poco meno di 15 km più ad ovest), sito 'finora sconosciuto' e non ancora identificato con un toponimo antico.²

Di Phykous è stata effettuata sia la mappatura topografica tradizionale, sia quella tridimensionale mediante scansione laser, al fine di ottenere l'esatto rilevamento altimetrico e la collocazione precisa delle strutture murarie emergenti e di tutti

gli elementi - ceramici, litici e metallici - visibili in superficie (figg. 1-2).³

All'estremità orientale del sito, in posizione dominante sulla costa, sono stati rinvenuti una struttura di servizio (un faro?) connessa al porto (blocchi del molo sono presenti sott'acqua: fig. 3), a sud un grande edificio rettangolare (forse a carattere militare) mentre sulla scogliera sono stati identificati i resti di due ambienti rupestri, uno adibito probabilmente a chiesa ed un altro destinato certamente a sinagoga, data la raffigurazione incisa della *menorah*. Sulle alture ad est e ad ovest della baia sono state segnalate numerose tombe monumentali a camera scavate nella roccia, talvolta con camere supplementari e nicchie (fig. 4).

Sono stati inoltre posizionati mediante GPS, fotografati, disegnati e parzialmente campionati

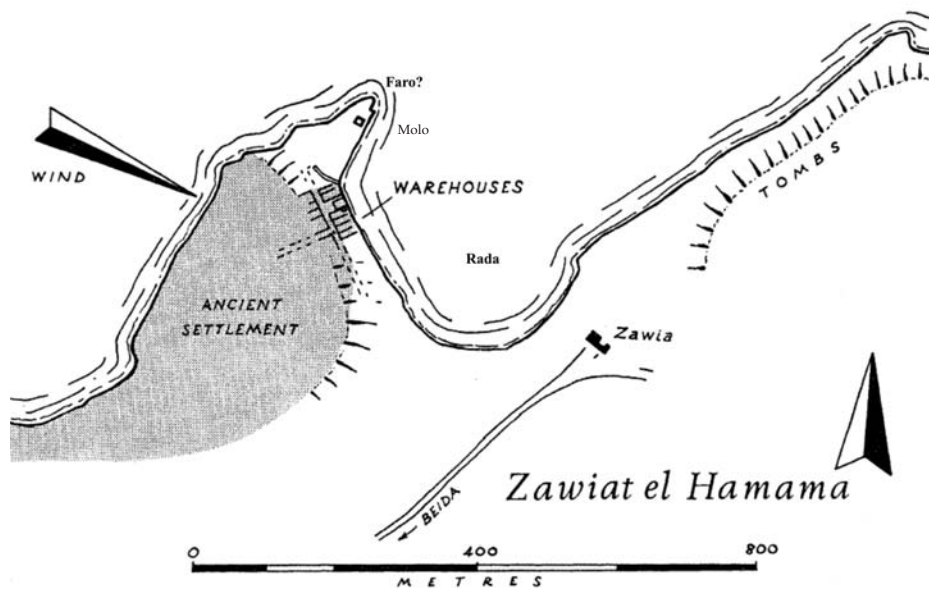


Fig. 1. Pianta del sito di Phykaus (modificata da Jones/Little 1971, 73, fig. 7).

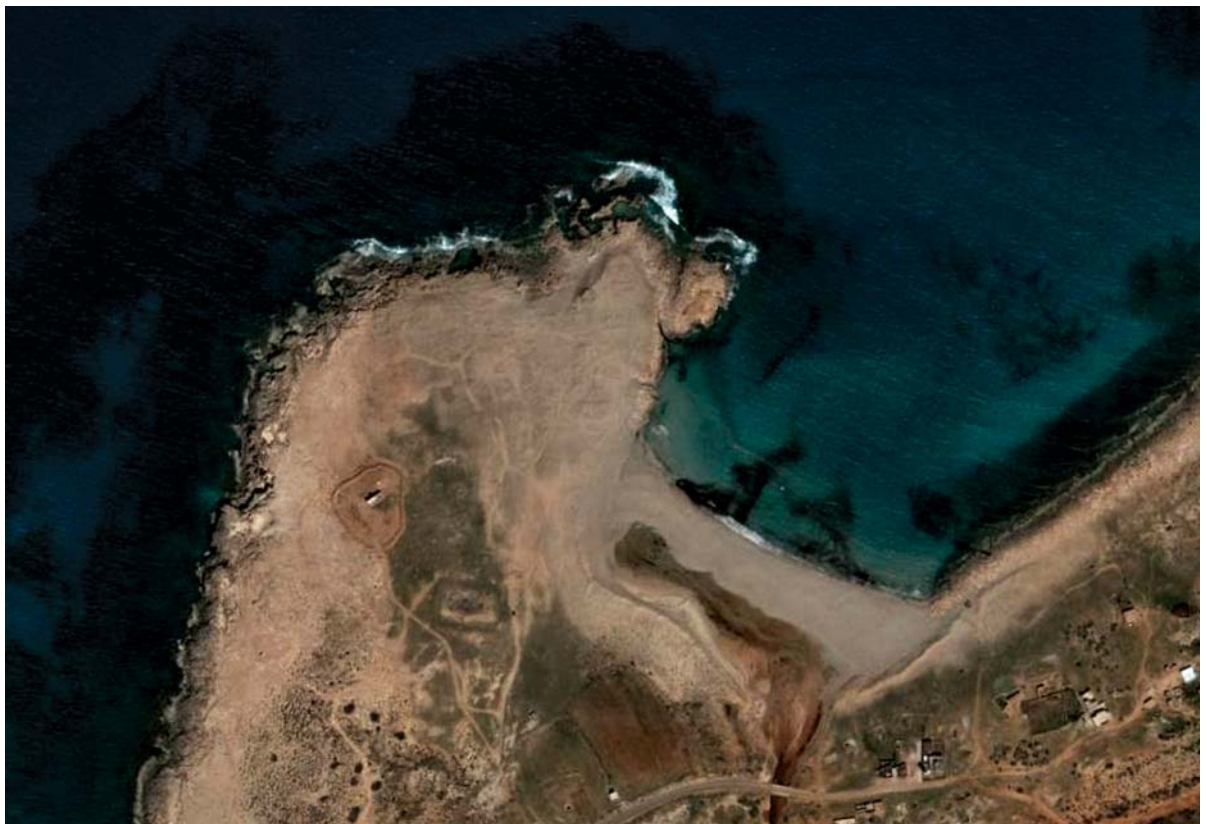


Fig. 2. Mappa satellitare di Al Hamamah.



Fig. 3. Blocchi del molo di Phykous
(da Marimpietri 2008, 12-13).



Fig. 4. Tomba rupestre a Phykous (da http://www.regione.sicilia.it/beniculturali/archeologiasottomarina/ez_eventi/libia_2008.htm).

circa cinquecento oggetti per poter procedere alla loro identificazione crono-tipologica, allo studio della provenienza dei materiali e soprattutto all'individuazione delle dinamiche occupazionali del sito. A seguito dell'analisi condotta sulle strutture murarie e sui reperti ceramici e numismatici è stata preliminarmente avanzata l'ipotesi che il porto di Phykous, fondato intorno al IV sec. a.C. (a giudicare da alcuni frammenti di ceramica attica e campana a vernice nera rinvenuti nell'area più orientale del sito), avrebbe visto una 'frequenziazione più intensa ... tra il III e il IV secolo d.C. Tra i materiali di rilievo per la datazione una moneta in bronzo, verosimilmente costantiniana' (D/: DN CONSTAN - - TINUS [MAX AUG?], fig. 5).⁴

Nell'altro sito costiero, El Oglà, l'indagine, gra-



Fig. 5. Moneta costantiniana da Phykous (da <http://www.culturalnews.it/dettaglio.asp?id=6563>).



Fig. 6. Basamento obliquo angolare ad El Oglà
(da Marimpietri 2008, 13).

vemente ostacolata, sia in mare che in terraferma, dalle forti mareggiate, ha comunque messo in luce interessanti strutture 'sepolte sotto la sabbia in precedenza ignote', quali una spessa e possente struttura muraria angolare con basamento obliquo in funzione di frangiflutti (forse una torre', fig. 6) e, nelle vicinanze, un complesso di due vasche circolari rivestite in cocciopesto (fig. 7), 'che dovevano essere adibite alla lavorazione del pescato per la produzione del garum'; dall'analisi dei materiali rinvenuti in superficie, 'anche quest'area ... risulta frequentata tra il III e il IV secolo d.C.'⁵

I SITI COSTIERI

Un primo significativo dato ricavabile dai resoconti archeologici è quello concernente l'intensificarsi del *trend* insediativo in età tardoantica, proprio quando la Libia viene colpita ripetutamente da scosse sismiche,⁶ le quali, perciò, potrebbero aver arrecato danni maggiori solo alle città dell'entroterra e non essere state, forse, così disastrose per i piccoli siti della costa.



Fig. 7. Vasca circolare ad El Ogla
(da Marimpietri 2008, 13).

Un secondo aspetto da valutare attentamente sta nel fatto che la segnalazione dei resti presso El Ogla pone il problema di un'eventuale corrispondenza con qualche toponimo già menzionato dalle fonti antiche.

Come riferisce Strabone, dopo οἱ Φιλαίνων βωμοὶ inizia la Cirenaica, il cui 'litorale' (παράλια) può essere suddiviso in tre 'settori': il primo va da Αὐτόμαλα a Berenike (esclusa) ed include λιμένας οὐ πολλοὺς ὕδρεϊά τε σπάνια; il secondo settore va da Berenike ad Ἀπολλωνία (inclusa), ἐπίνειον, 'scalo marittimo', di Cirene, e comprende Ταύχειρα/Ἀρσινόη, Βάρκη/Πτολεμαῖς e Φυκοῦς (ἄκρα e πολίχνη); il terzo, infine, va da Apollonia (esclusa) a Κατάβαθος, misura 2.200 stadi (circa 407 km) 'non adatti al cabotaggio' (οὐ πάνυ εὐπαράπλους) poiché vi sono λιμένες ὀλίγοι καὶ ὕφορμοι καὶ κατοικίαι καὶ ὕδρεια.⁷

Se dunque, secondo il geografo, il primo settore presenta 'non molti porti e rari punti di rifornimento d'acqua' ed il terzo 'pochi porti, ancoraggi, insediamenti e rifornimenti d'acqua', ne consegue che il tratto 'migliore' del litorale è l'intermedio, non a caso proprio quello all'interno del quale ricadono i due siti sui quali sono state condotte le recenti ricognizioni.⁸

Oltre a Strabone, per il tratto che ci interessa, ossia quello da Berenike ad Apollonia, e, ancor più in dettaglio, quello fra Ptolemais e Phykous, disponiamo di Tolemeo ed anche dei peripli e degli itinerari terrestri (per questi ultimi, ovviamente, con specifico riferimento soltanto alle parti relative ai siti ubicati sulla strada costiera: vd. tab. 1).⁹

Come si vede dalla Tabella, tra i siti antichi posti dalle fonti immediatamente ad ovest di Phykous - e per i quali, come vedremo, sono state avanzate dagli studiosi moderni discordanti proposte di identificazione - abbiamo Ἀπτούχου ἱερόν e Αὔσιγδα, di cui Tolemeo fornisce rispettivamente le seguenti coordinate: 49°30' di longitudine e 31°40' di latitudine per il primo, 49°30' e 31°30' per la seconda.¹⁰

Occorre a questo punto riconsiderare i dati archeologici e porli a confronto con quelli ricavabili dalle fonti antiche. Jones e Little per questo tratto tacciono di un sito con rovine ubicato ad El Ogla mentre menzionano Phykous/Al Hamamah (32°55'065N; 21°37'548E) e, più ad ovest, Ausigda che gli studiosi avevano pensato, invero con una certa cautela ('a tentative identification of the site with Ausigda is possible'), di identificare con Al Haniyah, 15 km ad ovest di Phykous (32°50'205N; 21°30'803E), area connotata da significativi resti di insediamento. Jones e Little lo descrissero come un luogo disseminato di cocci, ubicato di fronte ad una piccola baia concava, protetta a nord-est da un basso promontorio ed a nord-ovest da un altro promontorio e da un isolotto; in posizione centrale rispetto alla baia rilevarono la presenza dell'antico sito e, lungo la riva, di una cisterna con volta in conglomerato e di vasche circolari di deposito (storage tanks), a ridosso di alcune infrastrutture portuali (fig. 8).¹¹

Tabella 1.

Pseudo-Scilace (108, Müller GGM I, 84)	Ἑσπερίδες πόλις καὶ λιμὴν	Ταύχειρα				Φυκοῦς κόλπος	
Strabone (17.3.20)	Βερενίκη ... καὶ λίμνη Ἑσπερίδων	Ταύχειρα/ Ἀρσινόη	Πτολεμαῖς/ Βάρκη			Φυκοῦς	Ἀπολλωνία
Toleмео (geog. 4.4-5)	Βερενίκη ἢ καὶ Ἑσπερίδες	Ἀρσινόη ἢ καὶ Τεύχειρα	Πτολεμαῖς	Αὔσιγδα ἢ Αὔσιγδα	Ἀπτούχου ἱερόν	Φυκοῦς ἄκρον καὶ χωρίον	Ἀπολλωνία
Stadiasmus Maris Magni (53-57, Müller GGM I, 447-450)	Βερενικίς	Τεύχειρα	Πτολεμαῖς	Ναυσίδα		Φυκοῦς ὄρμος	Ἀπολλωνιάς
Itinerarium Antonini (67.1; 3-5)	Beronice	Theucira	Ptholemais				
Tabula Peutingeriana (VII.2-4)	Berenicide	Tauchira	Ptolomaide				Appollonia

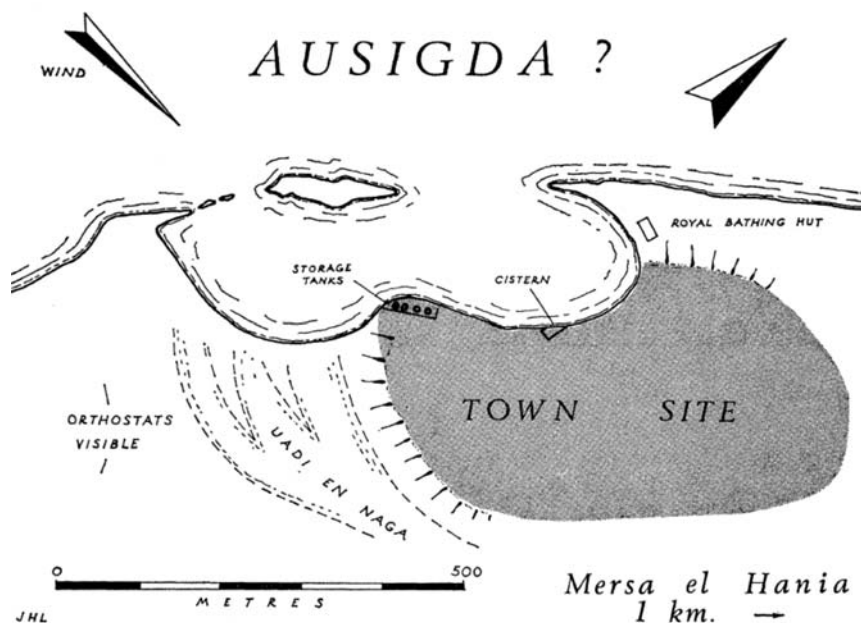


Fig. 8. Pianta del sito di Ausigda (da Jones/Little 1971, 75, fig. 8).

Purcaro Pagano ha proposto invece di rintracciare l'antica Ausigda presso Gasr Disa, un abitato antico posto su una collinetta, circa 35 km ad est di Phykous e di identificare il moderno sito di El Oglā (32°46'402N; 21°20'716E) con la *Semeris* dell'*Itinerarium Antonini* (67.5; 70.4).¹² Più recentemente, invece, Roques ha preferito identificare Ausigda con Jarjaruma (32°46'890N; 21°24'316E), sito dell'immediato entroterra appena 1 km ad est di Al Haniyah, ed ha ubicato invece proprio presso quest'ultima l'Ἀπτούχου ἱερόν.¹³

La proposta di Roques, che porrebbe Ausigda nell'entroterra e non sul litorale, non sembra tuttavia poter trovare accoglimento, poiché fondata su una dubbia lettura di un passo di un'epistola sinesiana, nella quale in realtà non si parla del sito ma si descrive la coraggiosa reazione dei sacerdoti 'Axumiti' i quali alla testa dei contadini locali respinsero un assalto nemico.¹⁴

Delle due *lectiones* tramandate dai manoscritti, Ἀὔσιμιτων e Ἀὔσιδιτων, è apparsa infatti di gran lunga preferibile la prima ad A. Garzya, che ha accettato l'ipotesi di localizzazione di Ch. Lacombrade, secondo il quale si sarebbe trattato di popolazioni stanziati 'dans les oasis libyennes d'Aoudjila-Djalo, reliées commercialement par Siouah (oasis d'Ammon) à l'Égypte, et de là à l'Éthiopie continentale par la haute vallée du Nil'.¹⁵ J. Desanges (la cui tesi in seguito è stata accolta da Roques), invece, aveva difeso la *lectio*

alternativa, Ἀὔσιδιτων, ritenendo che essa potesse celare, deformato, il nome di 'Ausigditi', cioè 'abitanti di Ausigda';¹⁶ anche E. Catani¹⁷ ha in seguito concordato con Desanges, benché - come notava Garzya - lo stesso Catani invocasse, 'a torto, non trattandosi di rami stemmaticamente equivalenti, il criterio della *lectio difficilior*'.¹⁸

Ausigda era invece certamente un sito costiero, come è confermato dallo *Stadiasmus*¹⁹ che la chiama, con lieve variante grafica, Ναυσίδα, la definisce 'villaggio' con 'acqua sulla spiaggia' (κώμη ἐστὶν ἔχει ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ) e la colloca a 190 stadi marini (km 33,7) da Φυκοῦς e 250 (km 44,4) da Πτολεμαῖς.

In effetti, se si osserva con attenzione la mappa del sito di Ἀὔσιγδα fornita da Jones e Little si nota subito che esso non coincide perfettamente con Al Haniyah, località - come si legge nella didascalia in basso a destra - situata in realtà un chilometro ad est. La mappa di Jones e Little non rappresenta, dunque, Al Haniyah ma un luogo ubicato esattamente 1 km ad ovest. Come si nota dalla carta realizzata con l'ausilio della mappa satellitare (fig. 9), il sito un chilometro ad ovest di Al Haniyah è proprio El Oglā.

A questo punto, i dati forniti dalla mappa di Jones e Little e quelli indicati nel resoconto di Tusa appaiono immediatamente compatibili, anzi coincidenti: quella che nelle relazioni preliminari di scavo viene definita come 'una spessa e pos-

sente struttura muraria, forse una torre, con basamento obliquo' angolare in funzione di frangiflutti, nella mappa di Jones e Little è indicata come *cistern*; quelle che sono descritte come 'due vasche circolari, rivestite in cocciopesto ... adibite alla lavorazione del pescato per la produzione del *garum*' altro non sono che gli *storage tanks* indicati nella suddetta mappa, anche se in numero di quattro, perché le mareggiate dell'ultimo cinquantennio avranno quasi certamente distrutto due delle quattro vasche. Ed inoltre: anche il riferimento dello *Stadiasmus* all'acqua sulla spiaggia' potrebbe effettivamente fare pensare a cisterne - peraltro, come si è detto, molto presenti in quest'area - le quali troverebbero persino un'affinità toponomastica con El Ogla, che, in arabo libico, significa appunto 'pozzo non profondo, cisterna'; persino il fatto che, come riporta Stefano Bizantino nel lemma relativo ad Ausigda di Libia, Ἐκαταῖος ... νῆσον οἶδε, collimerebbe perfettamente con l'effettiva presenza di un isolotto prospiciente la baia. Ed infine: una delle immagini fotografiche rese disponibili su internet insieme al resoconto della ricognizione presso El Ogla (fig. 10) presenta una rada con un andamento fortemente curvilineo, anzi concavo, che somiglia inequivocabilmente al profilo tratteggiato nella stessa mappa di Jones e Little.

LE ATTIVITÀ PRODUTTIVE

Se il 'ri-scoperto' sito di El Ogla/Αὔσιγδα era in realtà già noto, benché ubicato in riferimento ad

un toponimo moderno inesatto, resta tuttavia suggestiva, oltre che pienamente condivisibile, l'ipotesi di Tusa circa la produzione di *garum* quale destinazione d'uso delle vasche, ben più convincente della funzione di *storage tanks* supposta da Jones e Little.

Oltre alla presenza di tintorie, archeologicamente documentate a Berenike, sin dal III sec. a.C. e fino alla Tarda Antichità,²⁰ le testimonianze sulla lavorazione del pescato in Cirenaica appaiono supportate da dati archeologici derivanti dagli scavi condotti sia in un grande edificio ellenistico (un magazzino o un mercato) dell'acropoli di Cirene, dove è stata rinvenuta una grande quantità di lische di pesce, un dente di squalo e due piccoli ami bronzei,²¹ sia a Berenike, dove il vasellame comune ritrovato confermerebbe come l'esportazione di pesce salato dalla Spagna, cominciata soltanto nel I sec. d.C., non fosse mai divenuta davvero significativa ed anzi avesse subito un declino già nel corso del secolo successivo,²² dato, questo, che farebbe per converso supporre una produzione locale abbastanza consistente.²³

Occasionali importazioni di pesce salato in Cirenaica, anche se ormai proveniente non più dalla Spagna bensì dall'Egitto, sono documentate da un'epistola di Sinesio: costui si trovava presso la sua proprietà, in un luogo dell'entroterra, e, per dimostrare ai vicini - i quali non avevano dime-

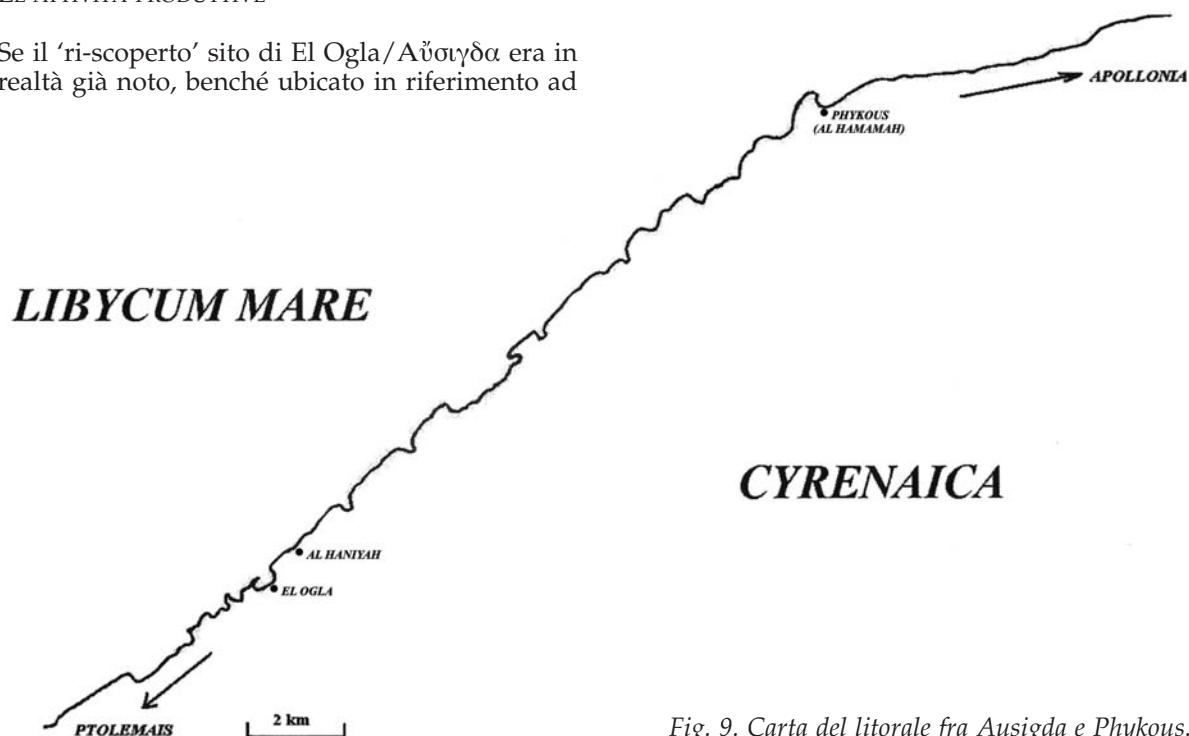


Fig. 9. Carta del litorale fra Ausigda e Phykeus.



Fig. 10. Baia di El Oglia (da <http://www.culturalnews.it/dettaglio.asp?id=6563>).

stichezza con l'ambiente marino, pur abitando a non più di 50 chilometri dal litorale costiero, e non mangiavano sale - che il mare poteva offrire da vivere, mostrò loro un recipiente d'argilla contenente pesce egiziano in salamoia.²⁴ Roques così ha commentato la missiva: 'le Cyrénéen, malgré sa méconnaissance du monde marin, mangeait donc à l'occasion du poisson, en l'occurrence importé d'Égypte; on ne peut dire s'il s'agit d'un cas exceptionnel ou d'un commerce régulier'; ed ancora: 'il n'est pas exclu qu'une partie des produits aient été convertie en salaisons (ταρίχη): le Cyrénéen en consommait, venues, il est vrai, d'Égypte'. Come si vede, lo studioso, pur incline ad evitare il termine 'decadenza' per l'economia della Cirenaica tardoantica, non sembra tuttavia riconoscere alla pesca un ruolo economico preminente ed anzi appare più incline a ritenere che sarebbe toccata soltanto ad agricoltura ed allevamento 'une part léonine', sufficiente, peraltro, 'à satisfaire les exigences de la population'.²⁵

In verità, si praticava certamente lungo le coste africane, ed in particolare libiche, la pesca di crostacei, molluschi e numerose varietà di pesce, alcune delle quali particolarmente pregiate come i tonni. Ateneo riferisce che in età tiberiana Apicio, ricchissimo gaudente (πλουσιώτατος τρυφήτης) che aveva speso ingenti somme per soddisfare il proprio ventre e risiedeva per lo più a Minturno in Campania nutrendosi di costose canocchie (καρίδας ἑσθίων πολυτελεῖς), 'avendo udito che κατὰ Λιβύην ne esistevano di dimensioni eccezionali (ὑπερμεγέθεις) salpò senza indugiare un sol giorno. Dopo aver molto patito durante la navigazione, come giunse in vista di quei lidi, prima ancora di sbarcare - del suo arrivo si era fatto un gran parlare fra i Libi - dei pescatori navigandogli incontro portarono a lui le canocchie più belle

(προσπλεύσαντες ἄλιεῖς προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ τὰς καλλίστας καρίδας). Appena le vide chiese se ne avessero di dimensioni maggiori (μείζους); alla risposta che non ne esistevano più grandi di quelle che gli avevano portato, rammentatosi dei gamberi di Minturno, diede ordine al timoniere di far nuovamente rotta verso l'Italia senza nemmeno approdare (μηδὲ προσπελάσαντι τῇ γῇ).²⁶

Anche se di pesci (branzini, orate, anguille), molluschi e crostacei catturati in acque libiche, fluviali e marine, e di *piscatores* ad Apollonia abbiamo notizia per il II sec. a.C. rispettivamente da Ateneo, che fa riferimento a Berenike e Cirene durante il regno di Tolemeo VIII Evergete II,²⁷ e da Plauto nella commedia *Rudens*,²⁸ possiamo tuttavia ritenere, con un buon margine di probabilità, che la pesca e le connesse attività artigianali di trasformazione del pescato continuassero anche nei secoli successivi in Cirenaica. Questo è quanto si può evincere soprattutto da un attento vaglio condotto su tutta la corrispondenza sinesiana, all'interno della quale, fra i numerosi riferimenti sparsi a rotte, scali, navi e pesca,²⁹ alcune lettere si segnalano in modo particolare.

In una missiva indirizzata al fratello, Sinesio descrive un avventuroso viaggio via mare da Alessandria ad Ἀζάριον, un λιμενίσκιον, 'porticciolo', sulla costa libica ad est di Derna. Sulla nave si trovavano, oltre all'equipaggio - composto di tredici ναῦται, soprattutto Ἰουδαῖοι (ivi compreso il ναύκληρος), e di γεωργοί con scarsa esperienza di navigazione - più di cinquanta passeggeri, per un buon terzo donne (ἐπιβάται πλεῖν ἢ πενήκοντα, τριτημόριον που μάλιστα γυναῖκες), ma anche parecchi Arabi facenti parte dello squadrone di cavalleria (Ἀράβιοι συχνοὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τάγματος τῶν ἱππέων). La nave, miracolosamente scampata ad una terribile tempesta, fu ormeggiata al sicuro nel porticciolo, dove, di lì a poco, trovarono rifugio molte altre imbarcazioni, tanto che, dice Sinesio, 'ora siamo tutta una flotta in questo piccolo arsenale' (καὶ νῦν ὁλόκληρός ἐσμεν στόλος ἐν νεωρίῳ μικρῷ). I naufraghi dapprima vissero per una settimana di ciò che il mare offriva loro, pescando fra gli scogli murene e grosse aragoste (μυραίνας τε καὶ καράβους εὐμεγέθεις), ghiozzi e donzelle (κωβιούς ... καὶ ἰούλους), e persino patelle (λεπάδας); poi, le donne libiche cominciarono a regalare formaggi, farina, dolci d'orzo, carne di agnello, galline e uova (τυρούς, ἄλευρα, πέμματα ἐκ κριθῶν, κρέα ἄρνεα, ἀλεκτορίδας, ᾧ ἄλεκτορεία) e persino un'otarda, uccello straordinariamente gustoso (καὶ ὥτιδα ... ὄρνεον ἐκτόπως ἡδύ), mentre gli uomini donarono ai naufraghi piccoli pesci presi all'amo ed altre prelibatezze

catturate fra gli scogli (ὁ μὲν ἡγκιστρομένον ἰχθύδιον, ὃ δὲ ἄλλος ἄλλο τι, πάντως ἔν γέ τι ἀγαθὸν ὧν φέρουσι πέτραι).³⁰ Come testimonia la varietà dei cibi offerti dai locali ai naufraghi, la dieta degli indigeni non era esclusivamente basata sulla pesca ma anche su agricoltura, allevamento e caccia.

Riferimenti alla pesca è possibile cogliere anche nell'epistola 41, che riporta un sermone tenuto a Tolemaide nel 412, dinanzi al popolo ed ai sacerdoti della Pentapoli: Sinesio si scaglia contro Andronico, un uomo originario di Berenike, che, pur essendo di assai modeste origini, in quanto addetto al posto di guardia per la pesca del tonno, il θυννοσκοπεῖον, era divenuto nel 411 *praeses Libyae Superioris*.³¹ I θυννοσκοπεῖα erano luoghi di osservazione su alture, talora consistenti in piccole capanne su lunghe pertiche, da dove uomini, dotati di vista acutissima e grande resistenza fisica, scrutavano per ore la superficie del mare per cogliere cambiamenti cromatici o increspature dell'acqua che segnalassero il passaggio dei tonni e davano al momento opportuno il segnale d'inizio della battuta di pesca.³²

Il termine ricorre già in tre passi straboniani. In due casi a proposito dell'Italia, più precisamente laddove si parla dell'elevato promontorio (ἄκρα ὑψηλή) su cui sorgeva Populonia³³ e dell'altro vicino la città di Cosa, alture dove erano appunto ubicati 'luoghi donde si fa la posta ai tonni' (θυννοσκοπεῖα): 'il tonno infatti viene a cercare lungo la costa non solo le ghiande marine, ma anche le conchiglie della porpora, dal mare esterno fino alla Sicilia.'³⁴ Il vocabolo ricorre una terza volta a proposito del litorale a sud di Cartagine dove si trova il promontorio di Ammone Balithon, presso il quale sorgeva appunto un θυννοσκοπεῖον.³⁵ È da notare, però, che il toponimo potrebbe essere in realtà collegato anche con un sito della Cirenaica menzionato in un lemma di Stefano Bizantino, Βᾱλῖς, πόλις Λιβύης πρὸς τῇ Κυρήνῃ, ἀπὸ τινος Βάλεως, οὗ καὶ ἱερὸν ἔχει.³⁶ Il collegamento fra i tonni e la porpora confermerebbe inoltre che fra le attività dei siti costieri della Cirenaica fosse praticata anche la pesca del murice e le connesse attività di tintura dei tessuti, documentate con certezza, come si è detto, soltanto per Berenike.

La testimonianza di Ateneo sulle canocchie libiche e quella di Sinesio sulla pesca del tonno, potrebbero trovare anche un riscontro importante già in Aristotele, il quale, a proposito dell'alimentazione degli animali marini, specificava che le canocchie costituiscono il pasto esclusivo del labro, un pesce che vive 'tra le alghe' (ἢ δὲ φυκίς

ἄλλης μὲν σαρκὸς οὐχ ἄπτεται, τῶν δὲ καρίδων), e che il tonno, insieme allo sgombro ed al branzino, per lo più carnivori, si nutrono anche di alghe (καὶ αἰμία δὲ καὶ θύννος καὶ λάβραξ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ σαρκοφαγοῦσιν, ἄπτονται δὲ καὶ φυκίων):³⁷ tale collegamento potrebbe forse legittimare l'ipotesi di una stretta relazione fra l'habitat costiero di queste specie ittiche ed il toponimo 'parlante' di Φυκοῦς, appunto l'alga'.

Appare infine particolarmente significativo che si rinvii proprio al contesto nordafricano - anche se non propriamente cirenaico - nell'unico testo del Digesto riguardante la *piscatio thynnaria*, laddove il mare è inteso dal giurista severiano Ulpiano come *bene quod natura omnibus patet: venditor fundi Geroniani fundo Botriano, quem retinebat, legem dederat, ne contra eum piscatio thynnaria exerceatur. Quamvis mari, quod natura omnibus patet, servitus imponi privata lege non potest, quia tamen bona fides contractus legem servari venditionis exposcit, personae possidentium aut in ius eorum succedentium per stipulationis vel venditionis legem obligantur* ('il venditore del fondo Geroniano aveva pattuito che la pesca del tonno non venga esercitata [dall'acquirente] di fronte al fondo Botriano che [il venditore] ha trattenuto per sé. Benché non sia possibile costituire una servitù sul mare, che per sua natura è aperto a tutti, tuttavia, poiché la buona fede del contratto impone che la clausola della vendita sia osservata, le persone dei proprietari presenti e futuri sono obbligate in base alla clausola della stipulazione o della compravendita ad attenersi a quanto convenuto').³⁸

L'ubicazione più plausibile del *fundus Botrianus* sembra essere presso il sito dell'antica Acholla/Botria, una delle città portuali più importanti della Bizacena (circa 40 chilometri a nord di Sfax, in Tunisia).³⁹ In tale località è stata individuata una villa a peristilio adorna di numerose decorazioni musive (e di dipinti parietali), prevalentemente soggetti marini, ed attribuita, grazie al ritrovamento *in situ* di un cippo iscritto, a M. Asinius Rufinus Valerius Verus Sabinianus, consul suffectus tra il 183 ed il 184 d.C., padre di M. Asinius Sabinianus (*vir clarissimus* che pose un'iscrizione onorifica per Caracalla nel 214 d.C., *consul suffectus* forse sotto Severo Alessandro e *proconsul Asiae* sotto Gordiano nel 239/240) e di Sex. Asinius Rufinus Fabianus (il quale, come documenta un'epigrafe dall'Africa Proconsolare, fu tra fine II ed inizi III *sacerdos Laurentium, quaestor urbanus, aedilis Cerealis, praetor*).⁴⁰ Benché non si possa stabilire con certezza se il *dominus fundi Botriani* del Digesto sia identificabile proprio con M. Asinius Rufinus, o con uno dei suoi eredi, è comunque plausibile ritenere che ai

proprietari di *villae maritimae* notevoli proventi potessero derivare anche dagli stabilimenti per la lavorazione del pescato.⁴¹ Questa ipotesi potrebbe essere supportata anche dai dati concernenti i principali *ateliers* di anfore africane adibite quasi certamente al trasporto di *garum* e *salsamenta*: proprio ad Acholla è ben documentata a partire dal III sec. d.C. la presenza di anfore di tipo II (Africana grande), destinate molto probabilmente, anche se non esclusivamente, all'esportazione di salagioni di pesce africano.⁴²

Il passo del Digesto è stato oggetto di contrastanti interpretazioni giuridiche: vi si è colta ora l'allusione ad una presunta volontà del venditore di impedire all'acquirente la concorrenza nella pesca del tonno praticata nello stesso braccio di mare, ora invece la previsione di una clausola contrattuale derivante dall'esigenza di quiete di un *dominus* preoccupato dell'eventuale disturbo arrecato da un'attività complessa e rumorosa come la pesca del tonno.⁴³ Entrambe le proposte hanno tuttavia suscitato forti perplessità in G. Purpura, il quale ha avanzato un'interessante e convincente ipotesi, a partire dalla stessa tecnica di cattura del tonno che non prevedeva la moderna 'camera della morte' allestita in alto mare, ma l'uccisione dei pesci direttamente sul lido.⁴⁴ In effetti, come è indicato con precisione nella letteratura alieutica, avvistato il banco dalle torri lignee poste in terraferma - ossia i sopra descritti *θυννοσκοπεῖα*, certamente presenti, come si è visto, anche lungo il litorale cirenaico - il corso dei tonni veniva dirottato da reti fisse di sbarramento verso il fondo di un'insenatura della costa in prossimità di un basso litorale: 'è molto violenta la caccia per coloro che sono armati d'arpione, quando il banco dei tonni migra in primavera. Innanzitutto [i pescatori] individuano uno specchio di mare, non troppo a ridosso di rive a strapiombo, né eccessivamente esposto ai venti, ma che in modo opportuno contemperi aria aperta ed occulti recessi. Poi per primo sale in alto su di un'erta collina un esperto avvistatore di tonni, per valutare i diversi branchi che sopraggiungono, quali e quanti siano, e riferire i compagni; subito tutte le reti avanzano tra i flutti a guisa di città; nella rete si trovano guardiani, porte e gallerie interne. E quelli (i tonni) rapidamente guizzano in schiere, come falangi di uomini che marciano in squadroni; alcuni sono [esemplari] più giovani, altri più vecchi, altri ancora nella piena maturità; innumerevoli si riversano nelle maglie, fino a quando vogliono e la rete ne recepisce la calca; e abbondante ed eccellente si presenta il bottino.'⁴⁵ Nella baia gli animali venivano chiusi da altre sciabiche, calate solo dopo

l'avvenuto avvistamento e tratte inizialmente da veloci imbarcazioni che navigavano verso terra (*πρὸς τὴν ἀκτὴν*) lungo le due sponde della cala e poi da uomini che, tirando dalla riva le estremità opposte della sciabica (assicurate ai pali che sorreggevano la vedetta posta ἐπὶ τινος αἰγιαλοῦ), provocavano la morte dei grandi pesci, ormai costretti in un angusto spazio, per asfissia, per i reciproci violenti colpi di coda ed ovviamente per le ferite inferte da arpioni e bastoni: '... conoscono perfettamente la data in cui arrivano i tonni e perciò si preparano accuratamente in anticipo, approntando i molti attrezzi che quella pesca comporta, e cioè imbarcazioni, reti e osservatori in luoghi elevati. L'osservatorio deve essere fissato saldamente sulla spiaggia, in un punto in cui si possa spaziare liberamente con la vista ... le imbarcazioni hanno sei giovani e vigorosi rematori in ambedue i lati; le reti sono larghe e piuttosto pesanti e non vengono sorrette da sugheri, ma sono ulteriormente appesantite dal piombo. I tonni vi entrano in grossi sciami ... l'osservatore dalla sua specola, grazie a una misteriosa capacità naturale e alla sua vista acutissima, segnala ai pescatori il punto da cui stanno arrivando i tonni; se occorre stendere le reti verso la sponda, egli indica loro in che modo occorra effettuare quella manovra ... quando la schiera dei tonni si spinge verso il mare aperto, colui che li osserva dalla specola e che conosce esattamente i loro comportamenti, lancia acute grida ai compagni, indicando in quale direzione debbano remare. Ed essi, dopo aver fissato a uno degli abeti che reggono la vedetta, una corda molto lunga legata alle reti, procedono con le imbarcazioni, in ordine stretto e incolonnati, tenendosi vicini gli uni agli altri, perché la rete, per l'appunto, è stesa in mezzo a loro. Il primo naviglio cala in mare la sua porzione di rete e torna indietro, poi il secondo e il terzo fanno altrettanto, il quarto naviglio deve anche lui ripetere l'operazione; ma i rematori del quinto indugiano perché non tocchi loro questa incombenza; gli altri remano chi da una parte e chi dall'altra, trascinando la loro porzione di rete, e poi si fermano. I tonni sono ora intorpiditi e, incapaci di compiere un'azione che richieda un po' di coraggio, non si muovono e si pigiano a vicenda.'⁴⁶

Rispetto alle testimonianze di Oppiano di Anazarbo ed Eliano, va rilevato che l'astronomo ed astrologo augusteo-tiberiano Manilio,⁴⁷ oltre alla descrizione della tecnica di pesca del tonno con la sciabica, fornisce notizie anche sulle operazioni immediatamente successive alla cattura, ossia la produzione di *garum* ed *allec* e la raccolta

del pescato dentro 'enormi recipienti', *ingentes lacus*, vasche paragonabili a quelle rinvenute ad El Oglā. Come ha sottolineato E. Salza Prina Ricotti, è particolarmente significativo il fatto che proprio in corrispondenza con le principali rotte di migrazione dei tonni si trovino 'i resti degli impianti di lavorazione ... che sono particolarmente ... fitti e notevoli nell'area neopunica ... il sistema delle grandi vasche per fare il *garum* a volte scavate nella roccia stessa della costa e foderate di *opus signinum* ... si ritrova su tutta la costa dell'Africa del Nord ... vicino a Sabratha ... a Leptis ... e resti di vasche si vedono ogni tanto sulle scogliere libiche.⁴⁸ In effetti, è lecito ritenere che fossero adoperati per la preparazione del *garum* anche i numerosi bacini circolari rinvenuti a Berenike, Taucheira, Ptolemais ed Apollonia, in genere databili al III sec. d.C., talora profondi anche 3-3,5 m, per lo più rivestiti in *opus signinum* o cocciopesto con funzione impermeabilizzante - ma nel caso di Apollonia scavati nella roccia talmente vicino al mare da apparire oggi gravemente danneggiate dall'erosione della salsedine.⁴⁹ Benché non si possieda una cronologia certa per le vasche di El Oglā/Aῤσινγδα, le affinità di queste ultime con quelle presenti in altri siti portuali della Cirenaica potrebbero indurre a formulare l'ipotesi che anche i bacini di El Oglā vadano datati al III sec. d.C.

Il pescato, immediatamente ripulito e suddiviso sulla stessa battigia, veniva dunque depositato, come sostiene Purpura, in apposite 'vasche fuori dalla portata delle onde per il definitivo trattamento e la salagione'; se la mattanza si svolgeva sul lido, allora il *non facere* richiesto all'acquirente del *fundus Geronianus* avrebbe potuto riferirsi al divieto di effettuare sulla riva, e proprio nel fondo venduto, le operazioni di pesca e di lavorazione del pesce; il venditore, invece, dopo l'avvistamento dei tonni dal proprio fondo, dominante e vicino al mare ma non contiguo come quello servente, avrebbe potuto liberamente pescarli in prossimità della battigia, sfruttando così l'eventuale impianto di cui egli disponeva in terraferma: il testo di Ulpiano, nel delineare un rapporto di servitù prediale, relativo, cioè, alle attività effettuate sul fondo litoraneo, ma non concernente il mare o la spiaggia, luoghi che rimanevano a disposizione di tutti, rivela, perciò, in età severiana l'atteggiarsi degli interessi economici dei *domini* dei fondi costieri nordafricani, sui quali gravava una *servitus thynnus non piscandi*, 'a vantaggio di un fondo dominante, ove tra terra e mare avrebbero potuto essere impiantate le vasche per la lavorazione del pesce, che procuravano ingenti guadagni.'⁵⁰

Proprio le vasche rivestite in cocciopesto presenti ad El Oglā/Aῤσινγδα - situata, come si è visto, all'interno di una rada dal profilo fortemente concavo e dunque particolarmente idoneo all'effettuazione della sopra descritta manovra di accerchiamento dei tonni - alla luce delle considerazioni fin qui esposte, potevano perciò ben prestarsi, analogamente a quanto si verificava nel *fundus* litoraneo della Bizacena, alla lavorazione del pescato direttamente sulla battigia piuttosto che essere adibite ad un'improbabile funzione di serbatoi di derrate, inesorabilmente, ed inutilmente, soggette a frequenti e deleterie mareggiate. Sulle alture prospicienti la baia - come sui numerosi promontori presenti lungo tutto il litorale costiero da Berenike ad Apollonia - potevano certamente trovarsi i θυννοσκοπεῖα, forse non sempre, o non completamente, edificati in materiale deperibile, come lascerebbe supporre, ad esempio, la struttura di incerta destinazione (faro?) ubicata in posizione dominante rispetto al κόλπος di Φυκούς.

CONSIDERAZIONI CONCLUSIVE

Un certo dinamismo economico caratterizzò i siti costieri della Cirenaica tardoantica, dal λιμὴν più grande di Berenike all'ὄρμος più noto di Phykous o all'ἐπίνειον di Apollonia o ancora al λιμενίσκιον di Azarion oppure alla κόμη ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ di Ausigda. Questi insediamenti erano frequentati da altolocati ed agiati ναύκληροι (tra cui pure Giudei, certamente coinvolti nelle attività commerciali marittime e dunque molto presenti nei siti portuali, come fra l'altro induce a ritenere la stessa raffigurazione del candelabro a sette bracci presente in una struttura rupestre di Phykous), responsabili sia delle imbarcazioni, sia del carico (e dello scarico) delle merci in transito; vi si affaccendavano, poi, sia i più modesti *piscatores*/ὄλιεῖς, sia i θυννοσκόποι, questi ultimi, forse, non di così modesta levatura, dal momento che il loro ruolo di veri e propri 'rais' *ante litteram*, determinante nella buona riuscita della pesca del pregiato tonno, potrebbe aver determinato talora un rapido arricchimento ed una conseguente ascesa sociale, come nel caso di Andronico il quale, dietro esborso di denaro, comprò la propria carica di *praeses* e da pescatore 'specializzato' divenne potente alleato del ναύκληρος Giulio; ed inoltre, presso tali siti operavano i ταριχευταί (oltre che i πορφυροβάφοι) che certamente dal mare e dalle annesse infrastrutture - per cui, forse, più che di singoli porti sarebbe opportuno parlare di un sistema integrato di installazioni portuali - trae-

vano il proprio sostentamento, ma che producevano anche per l'esterno, finendo per raccordarsi in tal modo con il circuito 'più ampio', mediterraneo, rappresentato dai *navicularii*. Questo è proprio quanto indurrebbe a ritenere non la testimonianza sul piccolo porto di Azarion, dove i pescatori sembrano produrre, almeno nella rappresentazione sinesiana, più per autoconsumo, ma i dati su Berenike relativi al passaggio dei tonni e quelli su El Ogla/Αὔσιγδα concernenti le vasche per la preparazione del *garum*, a documentare come ancora nel tardo Impero la produzione del prezioso e ricercato condimento fosse destinata, insieme ai crostacei ed ai tessuti di porpora, ad un mercato esterno, trasmarino, che poteva essere gestito anche da ricchi *possidentes* e che veicolava merci ricercate e richieste da una fascia 'alta' di utenti, verosimilmente gli stessi che dalla Cirenaica, anzi proprio dal porto di Phykous, facevano giungere a Costantinopoli il pregiatissimo silfio.⁵¹

A prescindere dal diverso contenuto, le fonti raccolte e discusse, da Strabone al Digesto a Sinesio, opportunamente accostate al dato archeologico - già noto ma significativamente reinterpretato - testimoniano come i Romani non fossero esclusivamente interessati alla commercializzazione dei *big three* (grano, olio e vino), ma tendessero a potenziare nel territorio una funzione che era già 'vocazionale', ossia, in questo caso, quella portuale, attraverso una serie di complessi costruttivi afferenti sia alle *villae maritimae*, sia, più in generale agli scali (porti, moli, banchine, approdi, ancoraggi), le cui attività produttive non si limitavano alla pesca per i bisogni locali ma comportavano anche attività collaterali destinate all'esportazione e non solo per il consumo alimentare - con la preparazione nelle *cetariorum officinae* di *garum* e *salsamenta*, probabilmente trasportati in anfore di produzione locale (come quelle rinvenute a Berenike) - ma anche per i beni di lusso realizzati presso le tintorie.

Jones e Little hanno fortemente insistito sulla stretta interdipendenza fra siti costieri della Cirenaica e siti dell'interno, una connessione che, su scala ridotta, ricalcherebbe perfettamente quella, macroscopica e ben nota, esistente fra Apollonia e Cirene; si tratterebbe di un rapporto 'ancillare' in cui i siti dell'*Hinterland*, a spiccata vocazione agricola, avrebbero fornito derrate alimentari ed approvvigionamento idrico agli insediamenti marittimi: 'the settlement of the coastal regions of Cyrenaica was initially controlled by the lucrative cultivation of agriculturally fertile areas of plain, whether in the steppelands of the plateau or in

the cultivable areas of the western *sahel*'; in ogni caso, le attività connesse alla 'fishing industry' sarebbero sempre rimaste 'relatively late or ancillary developments'.⁵² Ma tale interpretazione, che ovviamente non contribuisce a sfumare una certa immagine di decadenza tardoantica della regione,⁵³ in realtà non sembra condivisibile, sia perché la pesca e le attività 'dell'indotto' erano praticate, come si è visto, fin dall'età ellenistica lungo il litorale cirenaico, sia perché l'*evidence* archeologica e letteraria su El Ogla/Αὔσιγδα sembra parlare in favore di una continuità di tali attività anche per il III-IV secolo, sia ancora perché il testo ulpiano sul *fundus Botrianus* e la *piscatio thynnaria* - pur non direttamente riferito alla Cirenaica - non a caso si situa cronologicamente negli anni di regno di una dinastia, notoriamente legata all'Africa, ossia quella dei Severi, sotto i quali vissero personaggi altolocati come i figli del *dominus* della *villa maritima* di Botria.

Rispetto al rapporto di dipendenza, quando non di soggezione, delineato da Jones e Little, dei siti costieri cirenaici rispetto ai centri agricoli - talora anzi, forse, più soggetti alle rovinose incursioni dei nomadi ma anche ad eventi naturali deleteri, come le invasioni di locuste o i terremoti - sarebbe perciò preferibile ipotizzare una relazione di scambio di beni e servizi, ma anche di idee e di tecniche: come riferisce Sinesio, agli inizi del V secolo, alcuni abitanti dell'interno apprendono che il mare dà da vivere e scoprono il pesce in salamoia, oppure, al contrario, poteva accadere che sulle coste si imparasse a coltivare il silfio, che da pianta spontanea originaria della fascia stepica dell'entroterra era divenuta una specie vegetale presente nelle aiuole di un giardino della marittima Phykous.⁵⁴ Sembra profilarsi, dunque, un rapporto non 'ancillare' bensì semmai 'complementare', che di tale compresenza e reciprocità trova ancora in età giustiniana una significativa conferma (a testimonianza, forse, presso la corte bizantina di una reale preoccupazione per le sorti della Cirenaica tardoantica) nell'espressione adoperata da Procopio nella sua *Historia arcana* (18.7) a proposito degli eccidi causati dalla spedizione antivandalica di Belisario nella sconfinata Libia: lo storico, spinto dalla sua avversione rancorosa nei confronti della politica espansionistica giustiniana, si chiedeva infatti se fosse rimasto sulla terra ancora qualcuno in grado di valutare quanti 'fra i Libi residenti nelle città fossero impegnati nei lavori agricoli e nelle attività marinare' (Λιβύων δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὠκημένων τὰ πρότερά καὶ γῆν γεωργούντων ἐργασίαν τε τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐργαζομένων).

NOTE

- ¹ La Missione è stata condotta dalla Soprintendenza del Mare della Regione Siciliana, in collaborazione con l'Università 'Suor Orsola Benincasa' di Napoli e l'I.A.S. (Istituto di Attività Subacquee) di Palermo, ed in accordo con il *Department of Antiquities of Libya*: sui risultati si vedano i resoconti, dettagliati e corredati di fotografie, pubblicati su *Archeo* a cura di Marimpietri 2008 e disponibili in rete sia sul sito ufficiale (http://www.regione.sicilia.it/beniculturali/archeologiasottomarina/sez_eventi/libia_2008.htm), sia su *Archaeogate*, portale italiano specializzato nel settore dell'archeologia subacquea (http://www.archaeogate.org/subacquea/article/839/1/s_coperti-due-porti-romani-in-cirenaica-libia.html).
- ² Cf. Marimpietri 2008, 12.
- ³ Piante del sito sono riportate anche da Goodchild 1976b, 242, fig. 73; 247, fig. 74; Roques 1987, 100, fig. 10. In generale, sull'importanza dei siti ubicati lungo la costa libica - tra i quali appunto Phykous - su una grande rotta est-ovest che attraversava il Mediterraneo ancora fino al XIII secolo si vedano Laronde/Rigaud 1992, 743-756; sul toponimo indicante una baia, un promontorio ed una 'base navale' e sulla funzione di Phykous nel quadro del sistema portuale della Cirenaica tardoantica, dell'organizzazione economica e dello sfruttamento agricolo del territorio di Cirene, cf. Roques 1996, 269-276; 1999, 187-195.
- ⁴ Marimpietri 2008, 12. In effetti, il *range* insediativo individuato per Phykous da Jones/Little 1971, 74 sarebbe anche più ampio ('pottery ranging from black-glazed ware to Byzantine coarse wares, indicating an occupation from the 4th century B.C. to the 6th century A.D.'): sulla topografia del sito cf. inoltre Goodchild 1976a, 152; 1976b, 249-250.
- ⁵ Marimpietri 2008, 13.
- ⁶ I terremoti si verificarono nel 262 (*HA Gall.* 5.4: *mota est ... Libya*), nel 361-363 (secondo Libanio, *or.* 18.292, furono distrutte 'tutte le città della Libia': ἡ μὲν γε Γῆ καλῶς τε ἦσθετο τοῦ πάθους καὶ προσηκούση κουρά τὸν ἄνδρα ἐτίμησεν ἀποσεισασμένη, καθάπερ ἵππος ἀναβάτην, πόλεις τόσας καὶ τόσας ... τὰς Λιβύων ἀπάσας) e nel 411 d.C. (Synesius Cyrenensis, *ep.* 66.122-124: ἐν Ὑδρακί τῇ κώμῃ χωρίον ἐστὶ τῆς κώμης αὐτὸ τὸ μετεωρότατον, ὃ πάλαι μὲν ἦν φρούριον ἐρυμνότατον, κατασεισάντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ γέγονεν ἐκλελειμμένον ἐρείπιον, 'nel villaggio di Idrace, nella parte più alta, c'è un posto che un tempo servi da fortificatissima cittadella, ma divenne un mucchio di rovine abbandonate in seguito a un terremoto voluto da Dio', trad. it. Garzya 1989, 187); sui sismi in Cirenaica e sulle possibili conseguenze per la sopravvivenza dei centri abitati cf. Stucchi 1975, 357-360; Goodchild 1976b, 246; 251-252; Roques 1987, 41-52; Guidoboni/Comastri/Traina 1994, 244; 259-260; 281.
- ⁷ Strabo 17.3.20-22; sul valore numerico degli stadi in Strabone cf. Russo 1996, 244-245 e nota 39; sul significato del termine ὑφορμος in Strabone cf. Arena 2005, 299 e nota 38; sulla diffusa presenza di sorgenti, pozzi e cisterne lungo tutto il litorale da Βερενίκη ad Ἀπολλωνία, ed in particolare nell'area di Al Haniyah, cf. Ahlmann 1928, 59-64.
- ⁸ È indicativo dell'affidabilità dei dati straboniani il fatto che la medesima valutazione del litorale libico si riscontri nello studio moderno di Jones/Little 1971, per i quali la fascia costiera (*sahel*) della Cirenaica può suddividersi 'into three distinct zones' (64), due fra loro geomorfologicamente simili, una ad ovest di Tokra (Ταύχειρα), l'altra ad est di Derna (Δάρνη), la terza, 'the central section' (65) - da Ptolemais (71-72 e fig. 6) ad Apollonia (75-76) - connotata invece da una peculiare conformazione capace di offrire numerosi approdi naturali; cf. anche il *Portolano* 1994, preparato dall'Istituto Idrografico della Marina, 53-54, e Lamboeuf 2000, 27 (*Appendix IV. Ports and Landing Sites in Libya*), soprattutto per le grafie più recenti dei toponimi e per le relative coordinate geografiche.
- ⁹ Purcaro Pagano 1976, 290-291 e fig. 3.
- ¹⁰ Sull'Ἀπτούχου ἱερὸν di Tolemeo cf. Pietschmann 1895, coll. 287-288; Fantoli 1933, 102, nota 3, per il quale si sarebbe trattato di un santuario dedicato ad uno dei figli della ninfa Cirene (cf. Acesand. *fig.* *4, FGrHist III B, nr. 469, 424, ll. 23-24: παῖδας δὲ αὐτῆς γενέσθαι Αὐτούχου καὶ Ἀρισταίου; Stucchi 1975, 108, nota 3. Cf. St. Byz. s.v. Αὐσιγδα, πόλις Λιβύης, οὐδετέρως, ὡς Καλλιμαχος. Ἐκαταῖος δὲ νῆσον οἶδε [cf. Hec. *fig.* nr. 330 FGrHist IA, 43, ll. 27-29]. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Αὐσιγδοί. οὕτω γὰρ Ἀπόλλων τιμᾶται (147, ll. 13-15 A. Meineke, Berlin 1849); a proposito di questo lemma così scriveva Romanelli 1943, 213: 'fuori di Cirene il culto di Apollo è testimoniato ... esplicitamente da Stefano Bizantino per la località di Αὐσιγδα, che era sulla costa tra Tolemaide e Ficunte.' Su Ausigda cf. Pietschmann 1896, col. 2559; secondo Stucchi 1981, 110-111, Ausigda potrebbe essere identificata con l'omonimo sito citato nell'*Alessandra* di Licofrone (v. 885) come luogo di sepoltura dell'argonauta e vate Mopso, la cui madre Mantò, figlia di Tiresia, è attestata a Cirene e si trova in stretta relazione con Apollo (al riguardo potrebbe non essere casuale il fatto che, secondo Stefano Bizantino, fosse proprio quest'ultima divinità ad essere venerata presso Ausigda); cf. anche Sammartano 2004, 19. Su una possibile origine autoctona, berbera, del toponimo si veda Bisi Ingrassia 1977, 127.
- ¹¹ Jones/Little 1971, 73-74 e fig. 7; 74-75 e fig. 8; plate V, 1-3. Sull'identificazione di Ausigda cf. già Fantoli 1923, 175: 'il piccolo porto è una insenatura senza importanza ... El Hania, sbocco naturale di Messa sul mare, pare sostituisse nell'antichità il piccolo porto di *Nausidos*.' Fantoli 1933, 156, nota 6: Ausigda coincide con il 'villaggio costiero presso l'odierna el-Hania' (cioè Al Haniyah).
- ¹² Ausigda: Purcaro Pagano 1976, 297; 342; cf. Stucchi 1975, 358, nota 13. *Semeros*: Purcaro Pagano 1976, 303: 'da Tolemaide la strada conduce a *Semeros* la moderna Gasr al Uqlah, località sul mare, ove esistono resti di un abitato: la distanza da Tolemaide è di km 45; quindi la strada prosegue costiera sin dopo Hania da dove si interna per raggiungere Cirene: sono tuttora visibili tracce dell'antico sentiero.' Cf. 346; anche secondo Stucchi 1975, 359 e nota 13, *Semeros* coinciderebbe con Gasr al Uqlah o Agla; cf. Tav. V, nr. 43. Sul tratto Tolemaide-Al Haniyah cf. Fantoli 1923, 251-253: una cammelliera litoranea conduce 'proprio sulla riva sabbiosa del mare ai pozzi di *Bu Agla* ... la via è piana e facile ... fino ad El Hania ... in questo lungo tratto: numerosi pozzi ... e varie sorgenti tutte sgorganti a poca distanza dal mare; una di esse, anzi, resta proprio a pochi metri dalla spiaggia.' Stark 1950, 344-345.
- ¹³ Roques 1987, 101-104 e fig. 11; 118; sulla posizione del sito di Ausigda cf. Goodchild 1954, 21.32; Talbert 2000, tab. 38, BC-1, scala 1:1.000.000.
- ¹⁴ Synesius Cyrenensis *ep.*, 122.1-6 (405 d.C.): πολλὰ κάγαθὰ γένοιτο τοῖς ἐρεῦσιν Ἀξουμιτῶν, οἱ τῶν στρα-

- τιωτῶν καταδεδυκότων ἐν χηραμοῖς ὀρῶν καὶ ἀξιούντων τὸ αἶμα φρουρεῖν - οἱ δὲ τὸν ἀγροῖζον λεῶν παρακαλέσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτῶν τὴν εὐθὺ τῶν πολέμιων ἡγήσαντο καὶ προσευξάμενοι τρόπαιον ἔστησαν ἐν τῇ Μυρσινίτιδι. Φάραγξ δὲ αὕτη προμήκης τε καὶ βαθεῖα καὶ ὕλη συνηροφής ('auguriamo ogni bene ai preti Axumiti! Mentre i soldati se ne stavano nascosti nelle latebre dei monti per salvarsi la pelle, essi chiamarono a raccolta i contadini e dopo il sacro ufficio li condussero per la via più breve contro i nemici e con le loro preghiere riuscirono a innalzare il trofeo della vittoria nella Valle del Mirto, una gola lunga e profonda coperta di foreste', trad. it. Garzya 1989, 299).
- ¹⁵ Lacombrade 1955, 5; cf. Garzya 1989, 298, nota 1; già Romanelli 1943, 236, nota 2, riferiva la vicenda narrata nella missiva sinesiana agli 'Axumiti', pur ammettendo di non sapere 'con quale tribù o località della Cirenaica si debbano ricollegare'. Sul 'modo in cui gli Aksumiti entrarono, in quanto stato con ordinamenti giuridico-costituzionali, nella vita culturale classica, e se ne appropriarono, in modo originale', si veda Mazzarino 1974, 75-84.
- ¹⁶ Desanges 1977, 107-120, in particolare 114-117: 'il suffit d'une méthanèse faissant passer la gutturale avant la sifflante pour que nous puissions attribuer les prêtres Αὐξιδιτῶν (génitif pluriel de l'éthnique), c'est-à-dire *Αὐξιδιτῶν, à Αὐσιγδα' (116).
- ¹⁷ Cf. Catani 1983, in particolare 107, dove si ipotizza la posizione del sito poi ribadita da Roques 1987: 'l'antico villaggio, o meglio sarebbe dire il monastero di Ausigda, era ubicato su un'altura costiera, a circa metà strada fra Tolemaide e Cirene, in una posizione dominante l'accesso alla profonda spaccatura rocciosa dello Uadi Kuf-Gergerumma', con grafia più recente Jarjaruma; su quest'area cf. Goodchild 1976a, 151-152, fig. 72.
- ¹⁸ Garzya 1989, 299, nota 1. In relazione alla medesima epistola sinesiana, Stucchi 1975, 358 e nota 6, ipotizzava addirittura l'esistenza di un villaggio di *Axomis*, senza però fornire altra indicazione e basandosi sull'editio critica di R. Hercher (*Epistolographi Graeci*, Paris 1873, LXXVII), dove la *lectio* Ἀξομιτῶν, non attestata dai codici, è una mera congettura dell'editore (anche Goodchild 1976b, 243 aveva accettato la *lectio* Ἀξομιτῶν e considerato *Axomis* un sito di dubbia identificazione, forse Messa o Sidi Abdel Wahed).
- ¹⁹ *Stadiasm.* 54 Müller GGM I, 447. Per lo *Stadiasmus* si è tenuto conto di una datazione oscillante fra il tardo III (Thompson 1948, 360) ed il IV sec. d.C. (Warmington 1970, 802), anche se è stata proposta una datazione più alta, tra fine I a.C. e I d.C. (Uggeri 1998, 39-46).
- ²⁰ Göransson 2004, 137-142: 'there is evidence from the early 3rd century BC of industrial production of purple dye from *Murex trunculus* shellfish, and purple-dyed wool or cloth was probably one of the city's exports [Euesperides]' (p. 137); Wilson 2001, 31-32: presso Berenike, in un contesto d'età giustiniana, sono state rinvenute 'large quantities of deliberately crushed *Murex trunculus* ... suggesting that production of purple dye and associated dyeing of wool may have continued into Late Antiquity.' Cf. anche Reese 1979, 79-93. Scavi condotti nel sito di Euesperides hanno inoltre portato alla luce, fra la ceramica di produzione locale databile al III sec. a.C., un'ansa d'anfora recante il bollo ΣΙ, interpretato come l'abbreviazione del contenuto, ossia il σιλφιον, principale voce d'esportazione del centro urbano insieme alla lana tinta di porpora, entrambi prodotti che spiegherebbero i rapporti ostili con la tribù libica seminomade dei Nasamoni stanziati nelle steppe dove essi praticavano la pastorizia e dove attecchiva il silfio: Wilson 2003, 1647-1675.
- ²¹ Norton 1911, 152.
- ²² Riley 1979, 114; 157-159.
- ²³ Per quanto attiene alle anfore, gli scavi condotti nel sito di Berenike, oltre a mostrare una lacuna nella stratigrafia di IV e V secolo ed a presentare una grande quantità di anfore non identificate per il VI, documentano tra II e III secolo una produzione di tipi anforari attribuibili, sulla base delle argille, ad un'origine locale: 'si ignora il contenuto di queste anfore, anche se le fonti antiche parlano di olio, oltre che di grano, prodotto in Cirenaica.' Volpe 1986, 200; su rapporti e reti di diffusione fra Cirenaica e bacino orientale del Mediterraneo (Creta, Grecia meridionale, Egeo) si veda Panella 1993, 615; 660. Come è noto, il *garum*, a differenza del pesce in salamoia (*salsamenta*), era una salsa, spesso di complicata fattura, ottenuta tramite macerazione in apposite vasche in soluzione fortemente salina (pari alla metà, proporzione necessaria per evitare il deperimento del prodotto nei 2/3 mesi di stagionatura) di pesci - o talora anche di loro interiora - di diverse qualità e taglia (sia minuti e non eviscerati, sia medio-grandi, come sgombrì, ricciole e tonni) e mediante aggiunta di erbe ed aromi (*garum piperatum*), di aceto (*oxygarum*); ne esistevano varietà meno raffinate e di fattura più semplice, prodotte dal sedimento non filtrato (*altec*) o senza l'impiego di spezie (*liquamen*) oppure con miscela d'acqua (*hydrogarum*): cf. Morel 1896, 1459; Besnier 1911, 1022-1025; Zahn 1912, coll. 841-849; André 1961, 111-116 (pesce in salamoia); 198-200 (salse di pesce); Curtis 1983, 232-240; Dosi/Schnell 1986, 22-25; Gentilini 2004, 560 (*altec*); 574 (*garum*); 575 (*hydrogarum*); 578 (*liquamen*); 582 (*oxygarum*); soprattutto da ultimo la ricchissima bibliografia raccolta e suddivisa per aree geografiche da Wilson/Marzano 2007.
- ²⁴ Synesius Cyrenensis, *ep.* 148.41-43 (402/403 d.C.): ἐγὼ δὲ ποτε αὐτοῖς ἀνανεύουσι πρὸς τὰ περὶ τῶν ἰχθύων, ἀναλαβὼν τινὰ κέραμον καὶ προσαρᾶς πέτρα ἔδειξα τῶν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ταρίχη συχνά ('una volta, mostrandoli essi [i vicini di Sinesio, residente nell'estremo sud della Cirenaica] scettici su quanto dicevo dell'esistenza dei pesci, presi un mio recipiente di argilla e, frantumato su una pietra, feci veder loro tutto il pesce egiziano', trad. it. Garzya 1989, 359); cf. Curtis 1991, 138-139.
- ²⁵ Roques 1987, 410-411; cf. Roques 1985, 392.
- ²⁶ Athen. 1.12a-b; sulla vicenda vd. Gentilini 2004, 32-40. Negli *Apici excerpta* (17) di Vinidario si trova un intingolo per l'aragosta e la canocchia (*locusta* 'et *isquilla*') ottenuto con una miscela di pepe, ligustico, semi di sedano, aceto, *garum* e tuorli. Le canocchie di cui si parla nel passo sono crostacei che si catturano con le reti a strascico e vengono comunemente chiamati 'cicale di mare', in latino *squilla*: tale identificazione è confermata in Forcellini 1940, IV, 468, s.v. *squilla*; cf. anche André 1961, 105. Sulla diffusione lungo le coste libiche di questa varietà particolarmente grande di crostaceo commestibile (*Scyllarides latus*) cf. Lamboeuf 2000, 26 (*Appendix III. Fishes from Libya, Common and Scientific Names*).
- ²⁷ Athen. 2.84 (FHG III, 186, nr. 2): Πτολεμαῖος δ'ὁ Εὐεργέτης βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου ... γράφει οὕτως: 'περὶ Βερενίκην τῆς Λιβύης Λήθων ποτάμιον, ἐν ᾧ γίνεται ἰχθὺς λάβραξ καὶ χρύσοφρος καὶ ἐγγέλεον πλῆθος [καὶ] τῶν καλουμένων βασιλικῶν, αἱ τῶν τε ἐκ Μακεδονίας καὶ τῆς Κωπαιδὸς λίμνης τὸ μέγεθός εἰσιν ἡμιόλια, πᾶν

τε τὸ ρεῖθρον αὐτοῦ ἰχθύων ποικίλων ἐστὶ πληρεῖς ('Tolemeo Evergete, re d'Egitto ... così scrive: nei pressi di Berenike in Libia si trova un fiume Lethon, dove vivono il branzino, l'orata e una moltitudine di anguille dette "regie", le quali sono una volta e mezzo più grandi di quelle che si catturano in Macedonia e nel lago Copaide, ed in tutto il suo corso è pieno di svariati pesci'); cf. 12.73 (FHG III, 187, nr. 6): Ἀρτεμία μεγίστη [ἑορτή] ἐν Κυρήνῃ ἑορτή, ἐν ἣ ὁ ἱερεὺς [Tolemeo VIII] τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος (ἐνιαύσιος δ' ἐστὶ) δειπνίζει τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἱερευσάμενους καὶ παρατίθουσιν ἐκάστῳ τρουβλίον· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ κεραιμοῦν ἄγγος ἐπιδεχόμενον ὥς εἰκοσι ἀρτάβας, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἀγρομαίων ἐγκείται πεπονημένα, πολλὰ δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν ἡμέρων ὀρνίθων, ἐπὶ δὲ θαλαττίων ἰχθύων ταρίχου τε ξενικοῦ πλείονα γέννη ('le feste in onore di Artemide sono le più importanti a Cirene: in questa occasione il sacerdote di Apollo [Tolemeo VIII] - si tratta di una carica annuale - offre una cena a coloro che lo hanno preceduto nella carica e porge a ciascun commensale un catino; è un vaso fittile, capiente circa venti artabe e contenente non solo molte carni di bestie selvatiche ben cucinate ma anche di volatili domestici, ed ancora ogni genere di pesci marini e di salagione importata').

²⁸ Plaut., *Rud.* vv. 294-300 (atto II, scena I): *hisce hami atque haec harundines sunt nobis quaestu et cultu. / «Cottidie» ex urbe ad mare huc prodimus pabulatum [...] echinos, lopadas, ostrias, balanos captamus, conchas, / marinam urticam, musculos, placusias striatas; / postid piscatum hamatilem et saxatilem adgredimur. / Cibus captamus e mari* ('è con questi ami e con queste canne che tiriamo a campare. Ogni giorno scendiamo dalla città [Cirene] al mare per cercarvi di che vivere ... Cerchiamo di pescare ricci, patelle, ostriche, ghiande o datteri di mare, attinie, telline e granchi. Poi andiamo tra gli scogli e ci diamo da fare con l'amo. Quel che mangiamo lo prendiamo dal mare'). Della fauna ittica in habitat libico parla Arist. *h.a.* 5.31: ἐν δὲ τῇ θαλάττῃ τῇ ἀπὸ Κυρήνης πρὸς Αἴγυπτον ἐστὶ περὶ τὸν δελφῖνα ἰχθύος ὃν καλοῦσι φθειρα· ὅς γίνεται πάντων πύοτατος διὰ τὸ ἀπολαύειν τροφῆς ἀφρόνου θηρεύοντος τοῦ δελφίνος; la presenza di delfini e remore in acque libiche è tuttora documentata: Lambœuf 2000, 25 (*Appendix III. Fishes from Libya, Common and Scientific Names*). I viaggiatori europei del XVIII e XIX secolo lasciano soltanto intuire le potenzialità delle risorse ittiche della Cirenaica: si veda Roques 1987, 410 e nota 11; cf. Fantoli 1923, 39: 'abbondano le cernie, le palamiti, i lucci, le aguglie, i dentici, le ombrine, le orate, i pagelli, le triglie, i lugheri.'

²⁹ Synesius Cyrenensis, *ep.* 4; 38; 40; 45; 49; 50; 53; 54; 57; 71; 79; 80; 88; 101; 102; 114; 120; 123; 129; 133; 134; 136.

³⁰ Synesius Cyrenensis, *ep.* 5 (28 genn./maggio del 402 d.C.); cf. Garzya 1989, 75-91; Romanelli 1943, 160-161.

³¹ Synesius Cyrenensis, *ep.* 41.216-218 (412 d.C.): ἀνθρωπος οὐκ ἔχων εἰπεῖν ὄνομα πάππου, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πατρός, φασί, πλὴν ὅσον εἰκάσαι, ἀπὸ θυνοσκοπείου δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονικὴν ἀπήνην ἀλάμενος ('costui non sa dire il nome di suo nonno, e neanche di suo padre, se non tirando a indovinare, e quanto al cocchio presidenziale, vi si trova su dopo aver fatto un salto fin lì dal posto di guardia per la pesca del tonno al quale era addetto', trad. it. Garzya 1989, 135); cf. anche *ep.* 42.1-5 (febb. 412 d.C.), contenente il decreto di scomunica contro Andronico: Ἀνδρόνικον τὸν Βερονικεῖα, τὸν κακῇ Πενταπόλεως μοίρᾳ καὶ φύντᾳ καὶ τραφέντᾳ καὶ αὐξηθέντᾳ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐνεγκούσης αὐτὸν ὀνησάμενον μῆτε ἡγείσθω τις μῆτε καλεῖτω Χριστιανόν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἀλιτήριος ὢν τοῦ

θεοῦ πάσης ἐκκλησίας ἀπεληλάσθω πανέστιος ('Andronico di Berenike, nato e allevato e cresciuto per la sfortuna della Pentapoli, e giunto all'ufficio di preside della sua patria mediante acquisto in danaro della carica non sia né ritenuto né chiamato cristiano, ma sia scacciato, con la sua famiglia, da ogni chiesa in quanto peccatore contro Dio', trad. it. Garzya 1989, 141-143); cf. *PLRE II, Andronicus 1*, 89-90; Garzya 1986, 93-103; Roques 1987, 148; 411; sull'alleanza stretta fra Andronico ed il *navicularius* e *mercator* Giulio ai danni di Sinesio, specchio di una spaccatura all'interno del notabilato locale, cf. Lizzi 1987, 96-98; sulle ragioni profonde dell'ostilità di Sinesio nei riguardi di Andronico si vedano le lucide considerazioni di Bellomo 2006, 208-211.

³² Lafaye 1907, 491; Steier 1936, coll. 720-734.

³³ Strabo 5.2.6.

³⁴ Strabo 5.2.8 (trad. it. Biraschi 1988, 105).

³⁵ Strabo 17.3.16.

³⁶ St. Byz. 157, ll.7-8; cf. Biffi 1999, 413; sul passaggio di banchi di tonnetti (*Euthynus alleteratus*) di fronte alla costa libica si veda Lambœuf 2000, 25 (*Appendix III. Fishes from Libya, Common and Scientific Names*); in particolare sullo sfruttamento delle risorse ittiche nell'area di El Oglia cf. Reynolds 1995, *Annex 1, Map 4*.

³⁷ Arist., *h.a.* 8, 2.

³⁸ Dig. 8.4.13 pr. (Ulpianus libro sexto opinionum); 'contra' viene inteso 'ai danni' da Schipani 2005, 211, anche se appare preferibile tradurre 'di fronte': così Fiorentini 2003, 425 ('eum va riferito a fundum, non a venditor. Contra eum potrebbe dunque valere come locuzione spaziale, di stato in luogo, nel significato di "contro, dirimpetto"'); cf. anche Purpura 2004, 196.

³⁹ Cf. Hallebeek 1987, 41: 'this town is situated in Africa between Carthage and Hadrumetum and this would imply that we are dealing with provincial land ... The position of tenements in Africa ... is also conceivable on the basis of literary sources, which mention tunny fishing in the same area such as nearby Leptis, Syrtis Minor and the Island of Meninx ... Finally the *Libri opinionum* were essentially written as a manual for governors of provinces ... we have to move to the north coast of Africa for the legal problems of this tunny fishery.' Più recentemente Franciosi 2002, 102, ha invece proposto di ubicare i due fondi in Sicilia, senza però fornire alcuna spiegazione. Sul sito di Acholla/Botria cf. Schmidt 1893, col. 250; Dessau 1897, col. 793; Ennabli 1976, s.v. *Acholla*; in particolare sull'installazione portuale Troussat 1992, 320, fig. 1; 328; 329, fig. 8.

⁴⁰ Cf. *AE* 1954, 58; 1955, 122; 1956, 167; *EDH*-nr. HD017765: *M(arco) Asinio Sex(ti) | fil(io) Hor(atia) Rufino | Valerio Vero Sa|biniano ad|lecto inter praet(orios) | ab Imp(eratore) M(arco) Aurelio | [Commodo] Antoni|no Aug(usto) Pio exorn(ato) | sacerdotio fet(iali) curat(ori) | viae App(iae) co(n)s(uli) | cultores do|mus ob merit(a);* sulla 'carrière ultra-rapide' di questo personaggio che, *adlectus inter praetorios*, non ricoprì che la sola curatela della via Appia prima di accedere al consolato, cf. Pflaum 1956, 74-75; Eck 1974a, coll. 62-63; *M. Asinius Rufinus Valerius Verus Sabinianus* 'stammt aus Acholla'; *M. Asinius Sabinianus*: *CIL* 6, 1067 (da Roma); *PIR*² I, 256, nr. 1251; Barbieri 1952, 196, nr. 956; von Rohden 1896, col. 1604; *Sex. Asinius Rufinus Fabianus*: *ILAfr* 297; *PIR*² I, 255, nr. 1247; Eck 1974b, col. 63. Sulla stretta relazione, ideologica ed iconografica, fra Commodo, imperatore che aveva attribuito il consolato a *M. Asinius Rufinus*, e la principale decorazione musiva del *triclinium* dell'abitazione, ossia le dodici fatiche di Ercole, si vedano

Picard 1953, 121-132, figg.1-3; Dunbabin 1978, 25; 39-40; 248; Trabelsi 1991, 183-188 (che ha messo in dubbio la datazione dell'edificio all'età di Commodò ed ha individuato invece una prima fase tiberiana ed una seconda severiana); Gozlan 1994, 161-172.

- ⁴¹ Purpura 2004, 196. Si tratta verosimilmente delle *cetariorum officinae* di cui parla Columella (*rust.* 8.17.12) in riferimento ai *salsamentorum omnium purgamenta* ('gli scarti di tutte le salagioni'), con i quali venivano alimentati i pesci delle peschiere (*piscinae*) ubicate lungo la riva del mare; per un confronto tra la testimonianza di Columella ed i resti archeologici si veda Salza Prina Ricotti 1998-1999, 117-153. Il termine *cetaria* andrebbe specificamente riferito, come lascia intendere Orazio (2 sat. 5.44: *plures adnabunt thynni et cetaria crescent*), a bacini antistanti la spiaggia dove si convogliavano e chiudevano i tonni; cf. Forcellini 1940, I, 596, s.v. *cetarium*: '*cetaria sunt loca stagnantia in litoribus maris, quo maiores pisces statis annis temporibus convenire, et a piscatoribus, qui ea loca de industria nanciscuntur et parant, ubere praeda capi, iuxtaque saliri solent.*'

- ⁴² Ben Lazreg/Bonifay/Drine/Trousset 1995, 130, fig. 11; 132.

- ⁴³ Sull'argomento si vedano Santalucia 1971, 253-258; Provera 1971, 44-47; Fiorentini 1996, 168-169; Dajczak 1997, 80-84; Fiorentini 2003, 422-426.

- ⁴⁴ Purpura 2004, 198-200, diversamente da quanto sostenuto da Salza Prina Ricotti 1998-1999, 155 ('le tonnare antiche erano fatte esattamente come quelle moderne'); 165 ('la pesca del tonno ... continuò immutata fino all'ultimo dopoguerra'); sulle diverse tecniche di pesca si veda in generale Trousset 1998, 23-32.

- ⁴⁵ Opp., *hal.* 3.631-648: πολλή δ' ἔκπαγλός τε παρίσταται ἰχθυόλοισιν / ἄγρη, δὲ εἰαρινὸς θύννων στρατὸς ὀρησώνται. / Χῶρον μὲν ἀμπρωτον ἐπεφράσαντο θαλάσσης / οὔτε λίην στενωπὸν ἐπηρεφέεσσιν ὑπ' ὄχθαις / οὔτε λίην ἀνέμοισιν ἐπιδρομον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἶθρη / καὶ σκεπανοὶς κεθυμῶσιν ἐναίσια μέτρα φέροντα. / "Ἐνθ' ἦτοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐπ' ὄρθιον ὕψι κολώνων / ἴδρις ἐπαμβαίνει θυννοσκόπος, ὅστε κιούσας / παντοίας ἀγέλας τεκμαίρεται, αἶ τε καὶ ὄσσαι, / πιραύσκει δ' ἐτάρουσι τὰ δ' αὐτίκα δίκτυα πάντα / ὥστε πόλις προβέβηκεν ἐν οἴδμασιν ἐν δὲ πυλωροὶ / δίκτυω, ἐν δὲ πύλαι, μύχατοί τ' αὐλώνες ἔασιν. / Οἱ δὲ θοῶς σέονται ἐπὶ στίχας, ὥστε φάλαγγες / ἀνδρῶν ἐρχομένων καταφυλάδον· οἱ μὲν ἔασιν / ὀπλοῦντες, τοὶ δ' εἰσὶ γεραίτεροι, οἱ δ' ἐνὶ μέσση / ὥρη· ἀπειρέσιοι δὲ λίνων ἔντοσθε ῥέουσιν, / εἰσόκεν ἱμεῖρωσι καὶ ἀγρομένους ἀνέλθαι / δίκτυον· ἀφνειὴ δὲ καὶ ἔξοχος ἴσταται ἄγρη. Aelian., *n.a.* 15.5: ... τὴν τῶν θύννων ἐπιδημίαν ἴσασιν κάλλιστα, καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται τηνικάδε τοῦ ἔτους, καὶ ὅπλα κατ' αὐτῶν εὐτρέπιστα πολλά, ναῦς καὶ δίκτυα καὶ σκοπιὰ ὑψηλή. Σκοπιὰ δὲ ἄρα αὕτη ἐπὶ τινος αἰγιαλοῦ παγεῖσα ἀνέστηκεν ἐν περὶ πηγή σφόδρα ἐλευθέρῃ ... αἱ δὲ ναῦς ἐρέτας ἐκάστη καὶ ἔξ ἔχει παρ' ἐκάτερα νεανίας εὖ μάλα ἐρέττοντας· δίκτυα δὲ προμήκη, οὐ κοῦφα λίαν καὶ ἀνεχόμενα τοῖς φελλοῖς, μολὶβω γε μὴν βριθόμενα μάλλον. Ἀθροά δὲ ἄρα αἱ τῶνδε τῶν ἰχθύων ἀγέλας ἐσένουσιν ... ὁ σκοπὸς ἰδὼν σοφίᾳ τινὶ ἀπορήτῳ καὶ φύσει ὀψεως δξυωπεστάτῃ λέγει μὲν τοῖς θηραταῖς ὁπόθεν ἀφικνοῦνται· εἰ δέοι γε μὴν πρὸς τὴν ἀκτὴν παρατεῖναι τὰ δίκτυα, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκδιδάσκει ... ὅταν ἑαυτοὺς ὠθήσωσιν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἢ τῶν θύννων ἰλῆ, ὁ τὴν σκοπιὰν φυλάττων καὶ ἀκριβῶς τὴν τῶν προερχομένων ἱστορίαν καὶ μάλα δξὺ ἐκβοήσας λέγει διώκειν ἐκεῖθι καὶ τοῦ πελάγους ἐρέττειν ἐνθῷ. Οἱ δὲ ἐξαετήσαντες ἐλάτης τῶν τὸν σκοπὸν ἀνεχουσῶν

τῆς ἐτέρας σχοῖνον εὖ μάλα μακρὰν τῶν δικτύων ἐχομένην, εἴτα ἐπαλλήλοισι ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐρέττουσι κατὰ στοῖχον, ἔχονταί τε ἀλλήλων, ἐπεὶ τοὶ καὶ τὸ δίκτυον ἐφ' ἐκάστη διήρηται. Καὶ ἡ γε πρώτη τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἐκβαλοῦσα μοῖραν τοῦ δικτύου ἀναχωρεῖ, εἴτα ἡ δευτέρα δρᾷ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ τρίτη, καὶ δεῖ καθεῖναι τὴν τετάρτην· οἱ δὲ τὴν πέμπτην ἐρέττοντες ἔτι μέλλουσι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ οὐ χρὴ καθεῖναι πῶ· εἴτα ἐρέττουσι ἄλλοι ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄγουσι τοῦ δικτύου τὴν μοῖραν, εἴτα ἡσυχάζουσι. Νωθεῖς δὲ ἄρα ὄντες οἱ θύννοι καὶ ἔργον τι τὸλμης ἐχόμενον ἀδυνατοῦντες δρᾷσαι, πεπισμένοι μένουσι τε καὶ ἀτρεμοῦσιν (trad. it. Maspero 1998, 853-855).

- ⁴⁷ Manil., *astron.* 5.663-681: ... *incautosque trahent macularum nemine thynnus. / nec cepisse sat est: luctantur corpora nodis / exceptantque novas acies ferroque necantur, / inficiturque suo permixtus sanguine pontus. / tum quoque, cum toto iacuerunt litore praedae, / altera fit caedis caedes: scinduntur in artus, / corpore et ex uno varius describitur usus. / illa datis melior, sucis pars illa retentis. / hinc sanies pretiosa fluit floremque cruoris / evomit ex mixto gustum sale temperat oris; / illa putris turbae strages confunditur omnis / permiscetque suas alterna in damna figuras / communemque cibis usum sucumque ministrat. / aut, cum caeruleo stetit ipsa simillima ponto / squamigerum nubes turbaque immobilis haeret, / excipitur vasta circum vallata sagena / ingentisque lacus et Bacchi dolia complet / umorisque vomit socias per mutua dotes / et fluit in liquidam tabem resoluta medullas* ('... e gli imprudenti tonni attireranno in un intrico di maglie. / Né basta la cattura: si divincolano i corpi nei nodi / e ricevono nuovi assalti e sono uccisi da attrezzi di ferro / e inquinato del loro sangue si contamina il mare. / E dopo che le prede sono state allineate lungo tutta la spiaggia, / ancora una strage sulla strage: vengono esse squartate / e in ogni singolo corpo varie utilizzazioni si distinguono. / Una parte è migliore per i succhi che offre [cioè il *garum*], una parte per quelli che trattiene [ovvero l'*altec*]. / Da quella si lascia fluire una preziosa quantità di umore e sgorgare / il sangue vivo e con una mistura di sale si armonizza al palato; / dall'altro ammasso di flaccidi tagli si fa tutto un mucchio indistinto / e se ne rimescolano le forme con monconi estranei, / a fornire un intingolo d'uso comune per i cibi. / Oppure quando, somigliantissimo esso stesso all'azzurro del mare, / e addensatosi in una nuvola di squame resta bloccato immobile il banco, lo si racchiude nel cerchio delle mura di un'ampia sciabica e ricolma enormi recipienti ed orci da vino / e trasuda in comune con reciproco scambio i succhi di cui è dotato / e le interiora sfatte fluiscono in liquida poltiglia,' trad. it. Scarcia 2001, 231-233).

- ⁴⁸ Salza Prina Ricotti 1998-1999, 156; 162.

- ⁴⁹ Cf. Wilson 2001, 29-38 e figg. 2.1-4; 2.7; 2.9 (con bibliografia ivi), il quale tuttavia propende a ritenere che tali vasche servissero alla fermentazione del vino; in particolare sulle peschiere d'acqua marina (*piscinae salsae*) scavate nella roccia ad Apollonia ed a Phykous cf. du Plat Taylor 1965, 168; 176-177; Jones/Little 1971, plate IV, fig. 2; Flemming 1972, 112-118.

- ⁵⁰ Purpura 2004, 199; 205.

- ⁵¹ Su cui vedi Arena 2008, 67-71, con particolare riferimento alla rotta che dalle coste libiche giungeva sino al Bosforo e coinvolgeva, come riferisce Sinesio, le Καρπαθίων ὀλκάδες, ossia le navi mercantili dei *navicularii* di Scarpanto. Si tratta di un commercio destinato a non estinguersi nemmeno nei secoli successivi, come lascia supporre il ritrovamento di semi di *Umbelliferae* in tre anfore campione appartenenti al carico della nave

- affondata a Yassi Ada nell'Egeo, a nord di Cos, mentre faceva rotta dal Nordafrica verso Costantinopoli intorno al 625/626: Bass/van Doorninck 1982, 329-330.
- ⁵² Jones/Little 1971, 77.
- ⁵³ Questa visione 'negativa' è presente già in Mazzarino 1973, 766: 'vi [in Cirenaica] trascorre una vita silenziosa, di signori che - come per esempio quelli di un altro paese greco, la Sicilia - si dedicano agli studi e alla caccia; mentre l'agricoltore indigeno, "egizio", vive straniato dal resto del mondo e trema ogni anno al pensiero dell'esattore di imposte. La Cirenaica ha un basso indice demografico, cui si deve la lenta decadenza.' Più recentemente vedi anche Horden/Purcell 2000, 71, secondo i quali la Cirenaica costituirebbe un *case-study*, esemplificativo dell'inapplicabilità, alla regione nel suo complesso, della categoria di *prosperity*, 'an impressionistic generalization', poiché, al contrario, quest'area geografica nel tardo Impero sarebbe andata incontro ad un inevitabile *decline*; su decentramento e ruralizzazione della regione e sul quadro complessivo di *economic decline* che avrebbe avuto luogo già a partire dal III secolo ed avrebbe visto 'a breakdown in civic infrastructure ... a decline in the wealth of the curial classes ... and their withdrawal to rural estates' cf. Wilson 2001, 40; *contra* Alston 2004, 127. In particolare, per l'argomento che qui ci interessa, la relegazione della pesca ad un contesto primitivista di mera economia dell'*oikos*, tenacemente sostenuta da Gallant 1985 e ripresa da Kuhn 1998, coll. 527-529, è stata aspramente criticata da Bekker Nielsen 2002, 31-33, da Kron 2008, 204-205 e da Curtis 2008, 385-389, i quali invece attribuiscono alla produzione su vasta scala di *garum* e *salsamenta* un'importanza economica quasi paragonabile a quella della grande triade costituita da grano, olio e vino (su cui Wilson 2006, 530); leggermente diversa la prospettiva di Purcell 1995, 133; 145, il quale, pur partendo dal tentativo di conciliare 'the abundance of the literary and artistic allusions to eating fish with Gallant's severe position', ha ammesso tuttavia di propendere 'to adopt a position which is substantially more optimistic than Gallant's, but which still agrees with it against Curtis' impression of superabundance.' I dati sul dibattito storiografico moderno che ha contrapposto 'primitivisti' e 'modernisti' (o, meglio, 'evoluzionisti' e 'ciclici': Mazza 1985, 507-546; Mazza 2000, 499-547) sono stati ampiamente discussi da Lo Cascio 1991, 313-365 (con vasta bibliografia *ivi*).
- ⁵⁴ Sul cambiamento di areale e sull'acclimatamento della pianta cf. Arena 2008, 34; 67-68.
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Nicht immer wörtlich zu verstehen Wie Bildhauer mit griechischen Inschriften Werbung betrieben

Michael Donderer

Christoph Börker zum 75. Geburtstag

Summary

The signatures of sculptors and craftsmen have always had above all two purposes. They expressed that the manufacturers were pretty proud of their works and were at the same time means to win new customers through advertising. The antique Greek signatures of sculptors normally consist at least of the individual name in the nominative and a verb, mostly in a form of ποιεῖν. Beyond that the signatures could be extended by the patronymic and/or by the ethnicon. It is very interesting that obviously in some cases, above all in the more recent phases of the Graeco-Roman era, the verbal statements of all four components could be interpreted in a widened or even divergent way. The different possibilities of the understanding between the archaic epoch and the time of the Roman emperors will be demonstrated by means of some characteristic examples.

Zusammenfassung

Signaturen von Künstlern und Handwerkern hatten zu allen Zeiten vor allem zwei Ziele: Sie drückten den Stolz des Produzenten über die gelungene Herstellung ihres Werkes aus und konnten gleichzeitig als Werbung für künftige Auftraggeber dienen. Antike Bildhauersignaturen in griechischer Sprache bestehen in der Regel mindestens aus dem Individualnamen im Nominativ und einem Verbum, meistens einer Form von ποιεῖν. Erweitert werden konnte die Signatur durch den Vatersnamen und/oder das Ethnikon.

Besonders interessant ist nun, dass sich in einzelnen Fällen, vor allem in jüngeren Phasen der griechisch-römischen Epoche, die ursprünglich wörtlich zu verstehende Formulierung aller vier Bestandteile offenbar zu einer erweiterten oder gar abweichenden Aussage wandeln konnte. Die unterschiedlichen Möglichkeiten der Interpretation zwischen der archaischen Epoche und der römischen Kaiserzeit sollen hier an charakteristischen Beispielen demonstriert werden.

Wenn Privatleute sich Produkte des Kunsthandwerks verschaffen wollten, mussten sie sich an entsprechende Werkstätten oder Läden wenden. Die erstgenannten suchte man auf, wenn ein Werk in Auftrag gegeben wurde - was in der Antike bei teuren Stücke die Regel war. In Verkaufsläden hingegen wurden Second-Hand-Ware¹ oder Gegenstände der Kleinkunst, z.B. Bronzen, oder Massenprodukte, z.B. aus Ton, angeboten, die auf Vorrat hergestellt worden waren. Sicher erkundigten sich Kunden - wie heute auch - bei Bedarf in ihrem Freundes- und Bekanntenkreis nach einschlägigen Namen und Adressen. Aber auch den Produzenten und Händlern² selbst oblag der Versuch, den Absatz ihrer Erzeugnisse durch Werbung zu steigern.³ Hier sind zuallererst entsprechende Werbeschilder zu nennen, wie sie für zahlreiche Berufe nachgewiesen sind.⁴ Im

Bereich der Bildenden Künste liegen lediglich für einige wenige Steinmetzateliers, die vorwiegend auf die Herstellung von Inschriften spezialisiert waren, epigraphische Belege in Stein vor (Abb. 1).⁵

Eine stärkere Verbreitung des eigenen Bekanntheitsgrades konnte neben der Mundpropaganda durch Signaturen⁶ erreicht werden, welche die Kunsthandwerker auf den Werkstattprodukten anbrachten; dabei muss die Inschrift nicht notgedrungen vom Verfertiger selber stammen, sondern sie kann von einem auf Inschriften spezialisierten Handwerker ausgeführt worden sein.⁷ Nicht nur die Werbeintention spielte dabei im Altertum und in den nachantiken Epochen eine besondere Rolle, sondern auch der Stolz des Herstellers auf die eigene Leistung. An sich sind diese beiden Komponenten unabhängig von Zeit und Region. Bemerkenswerterweise massieren sich



Abb. 1. Firmenschild aus Palermo (1. Jh. v. Chr.); Palermo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (Photo des Museums Palermo 01372).



Abb. 2. Grabrelief aus Vladišovci (Rep. Mazedonien) mit Signatur des Loukios (Kaiserzeit); Skopje, Archäologisches Museum (Photo des Museums Skopje).

jedoch Bildhauersignaturen an manchen Orten - Städten und Heiligtümern sowohl in der klassisch-hellenistischen Epoche,⁸ als auch in der Kaiserzeit -⁹ während sie anderswo offenbar

ganz oder weitgehend fehlen.¹⁰ Der Grund für die lokale Häufung könnte darin liegen, dass ein Atelier begonnen hat zu signieren, die ansässige Konkurrenz¹¹ darauf reagiert und sich so eine örtliche Signiertradition herausgebildet hat,¹² die - einmal etabliert - über Generationen anhalten konnte.¹³

Fragen wir uns also, welche Informationen von den signierenden Bildhauern der Antike für wert erachtet wurden, dem Publikum entweder auf der Basis¹⁴ oder auf dem Stück selbst¹⁵ mitgeteilt zu werden und zugleich als Werbeaussage für künftige Auftraggeber zu dienen. Dass die entsprechenden Möglichkeiten nicht zu allen Zeiten und an allen Orten übereinstimmten, sondern temporären und regionalen Gepflogenheiten folgen konnten,¹⁶ die sich z.B. in bestimmten Signaturformeln manifestierten, versteht sich von selbst. Allerdings war für den Rezipienten der Antike in der Regel klar, was die einzelnen Bestandteile einer Signatur ausdrücken sollten, während dies vom heutigen Leser - wie wir noch sehen werden - erst erschlossen werden muss. Dies gilt für alle entscheidenden Bestandteile einer Künstlerschrift, nämlich für das Verbum, für den Individual- und den Vatersnamen sowie für das Ethnikon.

DAS VERBUM

Das üblicherweise in Signaturen verwendete Verbum ist ποιεῖν;¹⁷ darüber hinaus konnten, vor allem im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien und in der Levante, Begriffe wie ἀπαρτίζειν,¹⁸ γλύπτειν, ἐργάζεσθαι,¹⁹ τελεῖν, τεύχειν sowie Formulierungen mit dem Namen im Nominativ oder Genitiv ohne zugehöriges Verbum gewählt werden.²⁰ Allerdings wurde ποιεῖν gelegentlich in kausativem Sinn gebraucht; doch geht dies meist, wenngleich nicht in jedem Fall, aus dem ausführlichen Kontext und vor allem dem zugehörigen Dativobjekt eindeutig hervor (Abb. 2).²¹ In lateinisch gehaltenen Signaturen entsprechen dem die Verben *facere* und *sculpere*.²² Es erhebt sich jedoch die Frage, ob ποιεῖν bzw. seine regionalen Synonyme in den Signaturen grundsätzlich den Verfertiger meinen²³ oder auch auf andere Weise interpretiert werden können, wie im Folgenden gezeigt werden soll.

DER INDIVIDUALNAME

Was drückt der angegebene Name aus? Ist damit der Erfinder des Motivs oder der Verfertiger und somit mögliche Kopist des signierten Werkes oder



Abb. 3a. Statue aus Rom, sog. Herakles Farnese nach Vorbild des Lysippos (severisch); Neapel, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (Inst. Neg. Rom 80.2908).

der Ateliereigner gemeint, der nicht zwangsläufig mit dem Verfertiger identisch sein muss? Die erstgenannte Möglichkeit ist auszuschließen, da es in der Antike kein Copyright gab.²⁴ Zudem liegen Signaturen auf römischen Kopien nach berühmten Meisterwerken vor, die uns nicht den aus antiken Schriftquellen bekannten Schöpfer des Originalwerkes, sondern einen sonst unbekannten Bildhauernamen überliefern (Abb. 3 a-b).²⁵ Einmal wird in der Signatur sogar mitgeteilt, nach welchem Vorbild die Statue geschaffen worden ist.²⁶

Bisher war in der Forschung die Ansicht vorherrschend, dass der in der Inschrift aufgeführte Name den Verfertiger bezeichnet.²⁷ Allerdings



Abb. 3b. Signatur des Glykon (Inst. Neg. Rom 80.2917).

entbrannte schon vor etlicher Zeit eine Diskussion darüber, ob die zahlreichen Signaturen auf griechischen Vasen, in denen das Verbum ποιεῖν vorkommt, als Nennungen des jeweiligen Töpfers oder des Werkstatteigners anzusehen sind.²⁸ Die Plastik kann zur Lösung dieses Problems beitragen, denn es haben sich einerseits kleinformatige Werke erhalten, in deren Signatur mehr als eine Person genannt wird, andererseits aber auch Skulpturengruppen, die nur einen Bildhauernamen tragen. Unter den zahlreichen plastischen Werken, die eine Signatur mit mehr als einem Namen aufweisen,²⁹ begegnen auch einige Statuetten (Abb. 4 a-b)³⁰ und kleinformatige Reliefs,³¹ doch fällt es schwer, sich vorzustellen, dass in diesen Fällen alle Genannten trotz Spezialisierung³² an der Herstellung des Produktes beteiligt gewesen sein sollen; gleiches gilt übrigens auch für Doppelsignaturen (mit gleichem Verbum) auf griechischen Vasen.³³

Die Skulpturen des Grottentricliniums von Sperlonga weisen trotz einheitlicher Machart nur die Sammelsignatur dreier rhodischer Künstler auf,³⁴ obwohl beispielsweise die Signatur des Athanadoros an anderen Orten Italiens auch einzeln zu belegen ist.³⁵ Die Gruppensignatur lässt auf eine Ateliergemeinschaft schließen, denn sonst hätten die Genannten jeweils die einzelnen Werke des Ensembles signiert, wofür es genügend Beispiele gibt.³⁶ Allerdings ist betreffs der Bildhauerei immerhin auf eine inschriftlich überlieferte Ausnahme zu verweisen.³⁷ Im Gegensatz dazu erscheint auf der aus sechs lebensgroßen Statuen bestehenden archaischen Familienweihung im Heraion zu Samos als Hersteller allein der Name Geneleos;³⁸ es ist jedoch kaum anzunehmen, dass

dieser mehrere Jahre lang die Gruppe mehr oder weniger allein gearbeitet und der Auftraggeber entsprechend lange auf die Fertigstellung des Werkes gewartet haben könnte.³⁹

Hingewiesen sei noch auf zwei rundplastische Beispiele der Kaiserzeit. Im ehemaligen Metroon zu Olympia hat sich eine Porträtstatue des Kaisers Claudius erhalten, die nicht nur eine gut lesbare

Doppelsignatur auf der Vorderseite der Stütze in Form eines Baumstumpfes besitzt, sondern unterhalb der leicht erhobenen Ferse des linken Fußes noch eine weitere.⁴⁰ Beide Inschriften sind am ehesten als Namen der Ateliereigner und des ausführenden Handwerkers zu interpretieren.⁴¹ Vom sog. Marmor-Forum der Stadt Mérida stammen zahlreiche Porträtstatuen, von denen sechs kopflose Togati die Signatur des Gaius Aulius tragen;⁴² aus dem unterschiedlichen Stil und dem abweichenden Duktus der Aufschriften wurde geschlossen, dass die Stücke von verschiedenen Bildhauern gefertigt worden seien,⁴³ der Name demnach nicht den ausführenden Handwerker, sondern den Ateliereigner bezeichnen muss. Darüber hinaus wird überliefert, Lysippos habe 1500 Werke hergestellt;⁴⁴ selbst wenn die Zahl übertrieben sein sollte, ist dennoch klar, dass der Meister eine riesige Menge an Bronzeskulpturen nicht mit nur wenigen Gehilfen geschaffen haben kann, nötig war ein leistungsstarkes Atelier mit einem entsprechend eingespielten Team.⁴⁵ Eindeutig sind in dieser Hinsicht die lateinischen Signaturen auf einem Sarkophag aus Numidien⁴⁶ sowie auf dem Architekturteil (?) einer Kirche Algeriens.⁴⁷ Hieraus lässt sich möglicherweise ableiten, dass sich mehrgliedrige lateinische Namen vorzugsweise auf den Werkstattbesitzer beziehen. Zudem findet sich an einer kaiserzeitlichen Skulptur die griechischsprachige Aussage, dass der Genannte die Arbeit 'persönlich' vollbracht habe;⁴⁸ demnach war dies offenbar nicht selbstverständlich.⁴⁹ Es empfiehlt sich also, in den Signaturen in erster Linie den Ateliereigner zu sehen,⁵⁰ der zwar in der Regel vom Fach gewesen sein dürfte, aber nicht in jedem Einzelfall mit dem ausführenden Handwerker identisch gewesen sein muss.

In diese Richtung weisen auch literarische und epigraphische Quellen der späten Klassik und des Hellenismus, die besagen, dass einzelne Bildhauer sehr wohlhabend waren⁵¹ und zur Upper Class



Abb. 4a. Statuette eines Kentauren aus Tivoli (hadrianisch); Rom, Musei Capitolini (Inst. Neg. Rom 81.3558).



Abb. 4b. Signatur des Aristes und des Papias (Detail aus Inst. Neg. Rom 81.3558).

gehörten;⁵² ein Ausdruck dessen sind beispielsweise öffentlich erwiesene Ehrungen,⁵³ spätantike Standesprädikate⁵⁴ oder die zusätzliche literarische Tätigkeit mancher Bildhauer,⁵⁵ die beweist, dass man sich nicht ausschließlich mit eigenen Händen um den Lebensunterhalt kümmern musste. Es ist höchst unwahrscheinlich, dass derartige Bürger Tag ein Tag aus in der Werkstatt standen und körperlich anstrengende Arbeiten verrichteten; vielmehr muss man annehmen, dass sie sich gebührend um die politischen Angelegenheiten ihrer Polis oder Gemeinde kümmerten. Dazu passen auch einzelne Votive, die gelegentlich einen beträchtlichen Wert aufweisen können.⁵⁶ Für die Zeit um 370 v.Chr. lässt sich einer Rechnungsurkunde aus Epidauros entnehmen, dass der Steinmetz Aristaios zugleich Unternehmer war.⁵⁷ Andererseits besagt eine kaiserzeitliche Quelle, dass der Ateliereigner nicht vom Fach war, sondern lediglich das Kapital zur Verfügung gestellt hat;⁵⁸ bezeichnenderweise begegnet denn auch im Lateinischen die Formel *ex officina alicuius*,⁵⁹ während im Griechischen keine analoge Formulierung zu belegen ist.

Nicht nur bei gestempelter Massenware römischer Zeit, sondern gelegentlich auch als Signaturen auf Werken der Bildenden Kunst wurden Abkürzungen und Monogramme verwendet. Ihr Gebrauch seitens einer Werkstatt ergibt nur dann einen Sinn, wenn davon auszugehen war, dass möglichst viele Leser diese abbreviaturhaften Gütesiegel auch auflösen konnten, weil die dahinter stehenden Namen in den entsprechenden Kreisen zumindest regional hinreichend bekannt waren.⁶⁰

DER VATERSNAME

Viele Signaturen, vorwiegend der archaischen bis hellenistischen Epoche erweitern den Individualnamen um den Genitiv des Vatersnamens. Zwei Gründe könnten eine Erklärung dafür sein: Zum einen vermag die Ergänzung als Distinktivum bei Namensgleichheit unter Mitbürgern oder gar beruflichen Konkurrenten gleicher oder älterer Zeit zu dienen, obwohl auch eine Differenzierung durch Adjektive wie νέος,⁶¹ νεώτερος⁶² und *minor*⁶³ möglich war. Zum zweiten kann der Vatersname als Hinweis darauf angesehen werden, dass der Sohn den Status eines frei geborenen Bürgers besitzt. Allerdings spielt die Nennung der sozialen Stellung - wie die lateinischen Belege zeigen, die gewöhnlich ohne die *tria nomina*⁶⁴ und erst recht ohne Filiationsangabe auskommen - zumindest in der Kaiserzeit so gut wie keine Rolle; zuvor mag

dies anders gewesen sein.⁶⁵ Immerhin gibt es unter den griechischsprachigen Signaturen einige mit zwei oder drei Namensbestandteilen im gleichen Fall (Abb. 8)⁶⁶ - wohl in Anlehnung an die römische Nomenklatur ein Kennzeichen für den Status eines Freien⁶⁷ - sowie ganz wenige weitere Ausnahmen.⁶⁸

Aber es ist noch eine abweichende Interpretation des Vatersnamens möglich. Hingewiesen sein könnte durch ihn auf das Faktum, dass schon der Vater im gleichen Metier tätig war, der Sohn somit in einer handwerklichen Familientradition stand, die für hohe Qualität bürgte.⁶⁹ Besonders einleuchtend erscheint diese Hypothese in Bezug auf Lysippos, dessen älteste Signatur als bisher einzige um den Vatersnamen Lys(ippos?) erweitert ist,⁷⁰ während dieser bei den jüngeren Inschriften fehlt,⁷¹ wohl weil der Künstler selbst damals schon bekannt genug war.⁷² Bestärkt wird diese Vermutung durch eine literarische Nachricht, in der hinsichtlich eines als Bildhauer tätigen Brüderpaares zwischen dem wirklichen und dem scheinbaren Vater unterschieden wird.⁷³ Für einige Familien ließen sich aufgrund literarischer und/oder epigraphischer Quellen Familienstemmata über mehrere Generationen erstellen.⁷⁴ Zu dieser Interpretation passen die außergewöhnlichen Signaturen auf zwei stadtrömischen Skulpturengruppen, die uns *explizit* über ein Meister-Schüler-Verhältnis informieren (Abb. 5 a-b).⁷⁵

DAS ETHNIKON

Vielfach trifft man in Signaturen auf das Ethnikon, das neben dem Vatersnamen erscheinen (Abb. 6 a-b)⁷⁶ oder ihn ersetzen kann (Abb. 3 a-b). Doch was soll die Herkunftsangabe bezwecken? Drückt sie den Stolz über den Besitz des Bürgerrechts in der genannten Stadt aus? Dann aber wäre eine derartige, sich an Fremde richtende Manifestation auch in der eigenen Heimatstadt aussagekräftig, doch fehlt dort das Ethnikon in der Regel.⁷⁷ Für die Interpretation als Bürgerrechtsnachweis zumindest bis in die hellenistische Zeit lässt sich anführen, dass auf Rhodos mehrfach der Status eines Künstlers um die Deme-Angabe⁷⁸ bzw. um die Aussage ὅ ἃ ἐπιδαμία δέδοται erweitert wurde⁷⁹ oder dass sich dort einmal sogar ein Bildhauer als μέτοικος bezeichnet.⁸⁰ Eine kaiserzeitliche Signatur auf einer rhodischen Statuenbasis nennt einen Hersteller mit zwei Ethnika, was in diesem Fall wohl auf den Besitz von zwei Bürgerrechten deutet.⁸¹

Vor allem seit spätrepublikanischer Zeit spricht allerdings das Faktum, dass auf die Angabe des



Abb. 5a. Statuengruppe aus Rom, sog. *Stille Vertraute* (2. Hälfte des 1. Jh. v. Chr.); Rom, Museo Nazionale (Photo der Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma 188202).

sozialen Status durch Nennung des Vatersnamens oft verzichtet wurde, dafür, dass das weniger bedeutende Bürgerrecht nicht die einzige Interpretation des Ethnikons sein dürfte. Vorstellbar ist, dass dem Leser vielmehr ein Hinweis darauf gegeben werden sollte, wo sich der Sitz des Ateliers befindet.⁸² Denn es lag keine gebräuchliche Formel vor, dies in griechischen Signaturen auszudrücken - ganz im Gegensatz zum Lateinischen, wo dies speziell in der Toreutik gelegentlich *expressis verbis* mitgeteilt wurde.⁸³ Bezeichnenderweise begegnen Ethnika in der späten Republik und in der Kaiserzeit, als Kunstwerke oft über weite Strecken gehandelt wurden,⁸⁴ viel häufiger als der nun nicht mehr besonders aussagekräftige Vatersname, der meist nur einen regionalen Bekanntheitsgrad besaß.

Aber noch eine weitere Deutung des Ethnikons ist in Betracht zu ziehen. Auffällig ist nämlich, dass die weit überwiegende Mehrheit der in Italien

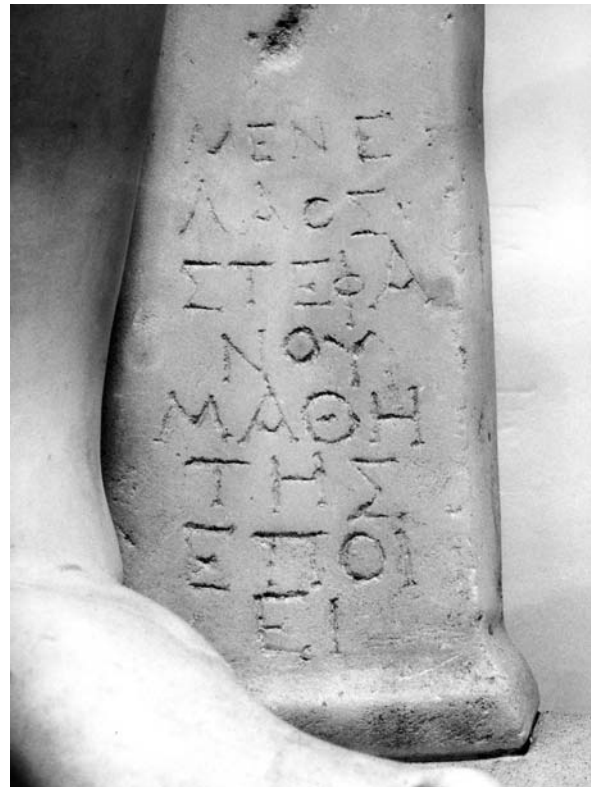


Abb. 5b. Signatur des Menelaos (Inst. Neg. Rom 85.2096).

gefundenen und eine Signatur tragenden Skulpturen und Reliefs die Herkunftsangabe Ἀθηναῖος aufweist.⁸⁵ Neben dem ausdrücklichen Hinweis auf den tatsächlichen Sitz des Ateliers ist die Information vielleicht als Sammelbegriff für einen weniger bekannten Ort Griechenlands anzusehen, aus dem der entsprechende Künstler stammte oder in dem seine Werkstatt beheimatet war. Überraschenderweise bezeichnet Pausanias die Schöpfer von Heroenstatuen in Messene als 'Ägypter',⁸⁶ obwohl die auf den entsprechenden Statuenfragmenten noch heute erhaltenen Signaturen klar das Ethnikon Ἀλεξανδρεὺς nennen;⁸⁷ wahrscheinlich wollte Pausanias mit der Wahl des Begriffes gar nicht erst eine Diskussion darüber aufkommen lassen, welche Stadt dieses Namens hier gemeint sei.

Man kann sogar noch einen Schritt weitergehen. Sollten Signaturen mit dem Ethnikon Ἀθηναῖος erst in Italien eingeschrieben worden sein, was sich eventuell aus der Marmorsorte (aus den Brüche von Luni - Carrara) oder aus dem Motiv des Werkes (z.B. Porträt) ersehen lässt, so käme neben dem Herkunftsort des Bildhauers oder dem



Abb. 6a. Statue aus Rom, sog. Torso vom Belvedere
(Mitte des 1. Jh. v. Chr.); Rom, Musei Vaticani
(Photo der Musei Vaticani XXXIV.26.39).

Stammsitz des Ateliers noch die Möglichkeit in Frage, in der Herkunftsbezeichnung einen künstlerischen Stilbegriff zu sehen, etwa 'in athenischem Stil' oder 'in griechischer Manier' geschaffen (Abb. 7 a-b);⁸⁸ eine vergleichbare Deutung wurde auch für das Ethnikon Πόδιος in Erwägung gezogen.⁸⁹ Diese Interpretation lässt sich beispielsweise für die spätantike Fundgruppe⁹⁰ vom Esquilin in Rom annehmen: Auf zahlreichen Statuenplinthen erscheinen jeweils einzeln mit dem Ethnikon Ἀφροδισιεύς die Namen dreier Bildhauer/Ateliereigner,⁹¹ von denen zwei auch in der kleinasiatischen Stadt selbst belegt sind.⁹² Allerdings sind die stadtrömischen Funde nicht importiert, sondern aus lunensischem Marmor wahrscheinlich in einem italischen Filialbetrieb gearbeitet;⁹³ man musste sich also bei Aufgabe



Abb. 6b. Signatur des Apollonios
(Photo der Musei Vaticani XXXIV-32-96/3).

der Bestellung nicht nach Aphrodisias wenden. Entscheidend war hier offenbar, auf den Stil aufmerksam zu machen, der in der Spätantike für dieses Bildhauerzentrum besonders charakteristisch war.⁹⁴

Ja man kann sich fragen, ob angesichts des weitgehenden Fehlens lateinischer Signaturen zumindest in Italien wirklich hinter jedem Ἀθηναῖος ein Grieche steht oder ob sich mancher Bildhauer und sonstige Kunsthandwerker nicht einfach einen griechischen Künstlernamen - gegebenenfalls ergänzt um ein fingiertes Ethnikon - zugelegt hat,⁹⁵ mit dem er dann auch in griechischer Sprache und Schrift signierte;⁹⁶ eine Namensänderung war in römischer Zeit offensichtlich kein wirkliches Problem.⁹⁷ Vergleichbar sind in dieser Hinsicht die Künstlernamen von Gladiatoren⁹⁸ und Wagenlenkern⁹⁹ sowie die aus dem Griechischen übernommenen von römischen Ärzten¹⁰⁰ und Bühnenkünstlern,¹⁰¹ die sich damit offen in die hellenisch geprägte Tradition ihres Faches stellen wollten.

In diese Richtung weist nicht nur die Wahl sprechender Künstler- und Handwerkernamen (Abb. 8),¹⁰² sondern auch die Übernahme berühmter Bildhauernamen der Vergangenheit¹⁰³ wie Alkamenes,¹⁰⁴ Myron (Abb. 9)¹⁰⁵ und Phidias.¹⁰⁶ Eine definitive Entscheidung zwischen Geburts- und Künstlernamen lässt sich jedoch meist nicht treffen. Mit letzterem ist vor allem dann zu rechnen, wenn die Produkte des homonymen Künstlers thematische oder stilistische Anklänge an die Opera des primären Namensträgers zeigen, doch



Abb. 7a. Porträtstatue aus Rom, sog. Marcellus (2. Hälfte des 1. Jh. v. Chr.); Paris, Musée du Louvre (Inst. Neg. Rom 69.117).
Abb. 7b. Signatur des Kleomenes (Inst. Neg. Rom 54.1068).

sind bedauerlicherweise gerade diejenigen Werke, die zu einem derartigen Namen gehörten, heute verloren, so dass eine Überprüfung dieser nahe liegenden Hypothese nicht möglich ist.¹⁰⁷

In dem gerade geschilderten Fall ist der Schritt zur Fälschung nicht mehr weit.¹⁰⁸ Und tatsächlich liegen uns antike literarische Quellen vor, dass falsche Signaturen gar nicht so selten waren.¹⁰⁹ Denn wo eine entsprechende Nachfrage auf Käuferseite ist, die nach bestimmten Produkten verlangt, da wird die Nachfrage befriedigt, und sei es mit unlauteren Mitteln. Allerdings ist es schwierig, eindeutige Belege dafür zu erbringen, denn die Fälschungsabsicht ist dem Stück meist nicht zu entnehmen. Doch es gibt offenbar einen solchen Fall, der kaum anders zu erklären ist: In der Bronzestatue des sog. Apoll von Piombino, der lange Zeit von der Forschung in die archaische Zeit datiert wurde,¹¹⁰ fanden sich Reste eines heute verlorenen Bleistreifens mit der Signatur zweier späthellenistischer Künstler.¹¹¹ Ursprünglich hielt man die beiden für Restauratoren, die sich auf diese Weise verewigt hätten, doch ergibt dies nur einen Sinn, wenn dies offen ausgedrückt worden wäre und auch die Originalschöpfer ihren Namen hinterlassen hätten, was hier beides - im

Gegensatz zu drei gleichlautenden Statuenbasen auf Delos¹¹² - nicht der Fall ist. Heute nimmt die Mehrheit der Forscher an, die fragmentarisch erhaltenen Namen seien die Schöpfer des Werkes, zumal sich gewisse stilistische Eigentümlichkeiten der Statue am ehesten mit dem archaischen Stil des beginnenden 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. verbinden lassen.¹¹³ Infolge der Fälschungsabsicht aber konnte die Signatur nicht - wie damals üblich - gut lesbar an der Plastik selbst wiedergegeben werden. Der Werbecharakter musste in diesem Fall notgedrungen gegenüber dem heimlichen Stolz über die Herstellung einer Statue zurückstehen, die stilistisch mehrere hundert Jahre älter wirkte und somit zu einem höheren Preis auf dem Kunstmarkt zu verkaufen war.

Signaturen an versteckter Stelle kommen tatsächlich gelegentlich vor und scheinen gegen eine Werbeintention des Herstellers zu sprechen. Allerdings gibt es meist nachvollziehbare Gründe für die Wahl des entsprechenden Anbringungsortes.¹¹⁴ So wurden Massenprodukte wohl aus Platzgründen gerne auf der Rück- oder Unterseite signiert.¹¹⁵ Bei plastischen Werken konnte die Aufstellung ein Grund dafür sein, die Signatur nicht, wie üblich, auf die Frontseite zu setzen, oder der Schöpfer



Abb. 8. Türgrabstein aus Mylasa - Milas mit Signatur des Euglyphis Onesimos
(2. Hälfte des 3. Jh. n. Chr.); Izmir, Kùltür Park Müzesi (Inst. Neg. Rom 74.1810).



Abb. 9. Grabinschrift des Quintus Dellius Myro(n) aus Verona (1. Jh. n. Chr.); Verona, Museo Archeologico (Photo der Soprintendenza Archeologica, Verona 21965).

wollte den Betrachter mit Hilfe des Motivs und/oder der Aufstellung einladen, die Skulptur zu umschreiten, so dass dieser dann unvermutet auf die Künstlerinschrift stieß, z.B. bei einer nackten Aphroditestatue in Rom.¹¹⁶ Schließlich waren nach Aussage antiker Quellen und Belege einige wenige Kultstatuen an versteckter Stelle signiert, wohl weil dies ausnahmsweise vom Auftraggeber erlaubt worden war, während dies in der Regel - sei es vom Stifter, sei es von den Heiligtumsbehörden - untersagt gewesen sein dürfte.¹¹⁷

WEITERE WERBEMÖGLICHKEITEN

Aber nicht nur direkte Signaturen konnten den Bekanntheitsgrad eines Ateliers und seines Leiters steigern. So bot sich, wenn man denn genügend Mittel investieren konnte und wollte, die Möglichkeit, mit Hilfe herausstechender Votive in lokalen oder überregionalen Heiligtümern indirekt zu werben.¹¹⁸ Dabei ist davon auszugehen, dass Bildhauervotive eigenhändig angefertigt worden sind, auch wenn dies meist nicht *explizit* ausgedrückt ist; außerdem war der Bildhauer in Bezug auf den Votivtext nicht von einem fremden Auftraggeber abhängig, er unterlag nur den allgemein gültigen lokalen Regelungen. Es muss allerdings offen bleiben, ob bei der jeweiligen Weihung das religiöse Bedürfnis oder die Werbeintention überwog. Letztere könnte dann entscheidend gewesen sein, wenn das Atelier noch mit keinem anderen Auftragswerk im Heiligtumsbereich vertreten war.

Schließlich bestand vorwiegend im Hellenismus und in der Kaiserzeit für Bildende Künstler noch eine weitere Gelegenheit, Werbung zu treiben. Vor allem im östlichen Mittelmeerraum fanden nach

Aussage literarischer und epigraphischer Quellen öffentliche Agone unter Malern und Bildhauern statt.¹¹⁹ Anfangs meist als Ergänzung zu gymnischen Spielen an religiöse Feste gebunden, lösten sich die Veranstaltungen zunehmend vom sakralen Ursprung und entwickelten sich zu profanen Publikums-magneten. Zwar sind uns die genauen organisatorischen Abläufe weitestgehend unbekannt, doch gehen wir sicher nicht fehl in der Annahme, dass die Sieger in der Region für einige Zeit in aller Munde waren. Zudem konnten die bestplatzierten Werke angekauft werden, um mit erläuternden Texten ausgestellt zu werden.¹²⁰ Gleiches mag in Ausnahmefällen für zweit- bzw. drittplatzierte Skulpturen bei Wettbewerben anlässlich eines öffentlichen Auftrages gegolten haben.¹²¹

DAS SELTENE VORKOMMEN VON SIGNATUREN

Abschließend stellt sich angesichts der Vorteile, die eine umfassende Künstlernennung am Werk bietet, die Frage, warum nach dem allmählichen Aufkommen der Bildhauersignaturen in der Archaik¹²² während der folgenden Epochen nur ein geringer Teil der Basen oder Skulpturen eine Werkstattinschrift trägt, obgleich diese nicht nur als Werbeträger, sondern auch als Ausdruck des Schöpferstolzes durchaus einen Sinn machte. Das Problem lässt sich zur Zeit nicht lösen,¹²³ doch können zumindest Überlegungen hinsichtlich der Kaiserzeit weiterhelfen, in der die Anzahl der Bildhauersignaturen im Vergleich zu Klassik und Hellenismus nach Aussage des verfügbaren Materials drastisch zurückgegangen ist; dies belegen deutlich die reichen Funde nicht signierter Skulpturen in Metropolen wie Iol - Caesarea - Charchel,¹²⁴ Ephesos,¹²⁵ Korinth¹²⁶ oder Thessaloniki.¹²⁷ Für das genannte Phänomen bieten sich zwei einander ergänzende Lösungen an.

Zum einen ist mit staatlichen bzw. kaiserlichen Werkstätten zu rechnen. Bekanntlich waren die wichtigsten der großen Steinbrüche in kaiserlichem¹²⁸ oder öffentlichem Besitz.¹²⁹ Die ihnen angeschlossenen Ateliers konnten z.B. Schalen, Skulpturen, Sarkophage und Architekturteile in Rundbosse, als Halbfabrikate oder als Fertigprodukte herstellen,¹³⁰ die zum Teil über weite Strecken transportiert wurden. Wahrscheinlich gab es weiterverarbeitende Werkstätten gleicher Organisationsstruktur auch in Italien, speziell in der Stadt Rom, wo dauernd öffentliche Bau- und Ausstattungsaufträge anfielen;¹³¹ vergleichbar sind in dieser Hinsicht die durch Stempel hinlänglich bekannten öffentlichen¹³² und kaiserlichen¹³³ Ziegeleien Italiens. Entsprechende Bildhauerateliers

aber sind - im Gegensatz zu privaten Werkstätten¹³⁴ - infolge ihrer monopolartigen Stellung hinsichtlich Technik und Material nicht auf Werbung angewiesen. Zudem ist davon auszugehen, dass dort vorwiegend Sklaven gearbeitet haben, denen es nicht erlaubt war, sich namentlich zu verewigen. Bildhauer im Dienste der Legionen oder der städtischen Kohorten konnten - wie einige wenige Belege zeigen¹³⁵ - offizielle Denkmäler signieren, nach Maßgabe kaiserlicher Erlasse aber war es ihnen verboten, während der Dienstzeit für den eigenen Geldbeutel tätig zu werden; dementsprechend fehlen entsprechende Signaturen nahezu vollkommen auf Privatmonumenten.¹³⁶

Da kaiserlicher oder öffentlicher Besitz zwar grundsätzlich für Marmorateliers,¹³⁷ nicht aber für Bronzegusswerkstätten¹³⁸ anzunehmen ist, könnte zusätzlich eine Art stillschweigende gesellschaftliche Übereinkunft über ein Signierverbot bestanden haben, an das sich natürlich nicht jeder Ateliereigner gebunden fühlen musste. Erinnerung sei daran, dass nach Aussage einer antiken Quelle an öffentlichen Gebäuden Roms nur der Stifter, nicht aber der Architekt genannt werden sollte;¹³⁹ außerhalb Roms hat dieses Verdikt nicht oder zumindest nicht so streng gegolten.¹⁴⁰ Diese Regel wurde jedoch offensichtlich auch in Bezug auf Privatbauten beachtet; denn in diesem Bereich sind bisher nur wenige Architektennennungen überliefert, die - mit einer Ausnahme an einem Grabbau¹⁴¹ - zudem nicht an der Außenfassade, sondern nur im Hausinneren angebracht sind.¹⁴² Demnach erscheint es möglich, dass öffentlich ausgestellte Skulpturen zumindest in den Westprovinzen des Imperium Romanum gewöhnlich keine Signaturen trugen¹⁴³ und sich die Werkstätten wohl auf Wunsch der Besteller auch im privaten Bereich mehr oder weniger an diese Konvention gehalten haben. Verstärkt wird diese Annahme durch das Faktum, dass im Gegensatz zu den Ostprovinzen¹⁴⁴ aus den lateinischsprachigen Teilen des Reiches in der späten Republik und der Kaiserzeit nahezu keine signierten Porträtstatuen oder -büsten¹⁴⁵ vorliegen, denn offenbar sollte der Ruhm des Geehrten und des Auftraggebers nicht durch eine werbende Werkstattinschrift geschmälert werden.

Konnte der Kunde bei Auftragsarbeiten, wozu freiplastische Werke in der Regel zu zählen sind, noch durchsetzen, dass der Hersteller nicht genannt wurde, so gilt dies für Reliefs wohl nicht unter allen Umständen. Es fällt nämlich auf, dass sich die Signaturen nur ausnahmsweise direkt an die Sepulkral- oder Votivinschrift anschließen, in der Regel erscheinen sie abgesetzt vom übrigen

Text (Abb. 10).¹⁴⁶ Dies lässt darauf schließen, dass oftmals das Relief - wohl zusammen mit der Signatur - bereits vorgefertigt war,¹⁴⁷ vergleichbar manchen kaiserzeitlichen Baugliedern,¹⁴⁸ und Sarkophagen.¹⁴⁹ So wurde dem Kunden die Auswahl erleichtert und er brauchte nach dem Kauf nicht lange auf die Auslieferung des Stückes zu warten, denn der Handwerker musste nur noch den gewünschten Text einmeißeln. Diese Zeit sparende Vorgehensweise hatte große Vorteile nicht nur für Dedikanten, die zu einem Heiligtum angereist waren und die Weihung zum nächstmöglichen Termin vornehmen wollten, sondern auch für Stifter von Grabmonumenten, die an einem schnellen Abschluss des Bestattungszereemoniells interessiert waren. Angesichts dieses Vorteils nahm der Kunde dann bei Stücken minderer Qualität und eines angemessenen Preises wohl auch eine Signatur in Kauf (Abb. 2, 10).¹⁵⁰ Einfacher war die Verkaufstaktik naturgemäß bei Massenware, die ausschließlich auf Vorrat produziert wurde. Hier ist der Anteil der signierten, meist gestempelten Kleinkunstobjekte wie Bronzegefäße,¹⁵¹ Lampen¹⁵² und Terrakotten¹⁵³ und Terra sigillata¹⁵⁴ an der Gesamtproduktion um ein Vielfaches höher als bei Arbeiten in Stein. Dennoch lässt sich bisher die Frage nicht beantworten, warum selbst bei qualitätvoller Massenware ein beträchtlicher Anteil der Stücke ohne Signatur geblieben ist.¹⁵⁵



Abb. 10. Votivrelief unbekannter Provenienz mit Signatur des Germanos (2./3. Jh. n. Chr.); verschollen (nach Kubitschek 1926, Taf. 2,2).

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Neben der Mundpropaganda sowie den Laden- und Werkstattsschildern waren die Signaturen wohl der wichtigste Werbeträger für Bildende Künstler. Ihre Aussagekraft hat sich offenbar mit der Zeit verändert, was an den griechischen Bildhauersignaturen demonstriert werden konnte. Ursprünglich bestanden sie aus dem individuellen Geburtsnamen, erweitert je nach Bedarf und Gutdünken um den Vatersnamen und das Ethnikon, sowie aus dem Verbum. Später konnte der Individualname durch einen Künstlernamen ersetzt werden. Der Vatersname war in diesen Fällen überflüssig und konnte infolgedessen weggelassen werden. Wurde er angegeben, so ließ er sich entweder als Distinktivum zu homonymen Personen oder als Zeichen der freien Geburt auffassen. Zudem war es vielleicht möglich, mit ihm auf eine handwerkliche Familientradition aufmerksam zu machen. Das Ethnikon konnte nicht mehr nur als Angabe des Geburtsortes bzw. des entsprechenden Bürgerrechts dienen, sondern als Hinweis auf den Sitz des Ateliers oder gar als Markenzeichen und Qualitätssiegel für einen prägnanten Regionalstil verstanden werden. Ποιῆν schließlich wurde offenbar auf den Ateliereigner bezogen, der nicht zwangsläufig mit dem ausführenden Künstler identisch sein musste. Zudem wurde das Verbum zunehmend auch mit kausativem Sinngehalt in Votiv- und Sepulkralinschriften verwendet. Schließlich konnten die Ateliereigner nicht nur durch reine Signaturen auf Basen oder an den Skulpturen selbst, sondern auch durch ausgefallene Votive in Heiligtümern oder die Teilnahme an Agonen in den Bildenden Künsten auf sich aufmerksam machen. Nicht klar lässt sich bis heute fassen, welche Mechanismen zu der Entscheidung geführt haben, ob eine Signatur angebracht werden sollte oder nicht. Nahe liegt die Vermutung, dass dies nicht allein im freien Ermessen des Ateliereigners lag, sondern dass sowohl die Organisationsstruktur der Werkstatt als auch die Einstellung des Auftraggebers eine gewichtige Rolle dabei gespielt haben. Abschließend sei darauf hingewiesen, dass Signaturen nicht immer nur eine ernste Sache des Stolzes und der Werbung waren, gelegentlich wurden sie auch Anlass zu Spott und Ironie.¹⁵⁶

ANMERKUNGEN

¹ z.B. Pompeji VII 13, 23: Eschebach 1982, 251-252; Donderer 1989, 44-45; Eschebach 1993, 336-337 und vielleicht Villa in Torre Annunziata bei Pompeji: Donderer

1989, 44.

² Händler von Marmorblöcken bzw. Marmorplastiken sind nur wenige namentlich überliefert: Aurelius Andronikos (IG XIV 2247; Cristofori 2004, 387-394 Nr. Interamnia 1 Taf. 45). - M. Aurelius Xenonianus Akylas (Moretti 1972, 83-84 Nr. 413 Abb.). - Desideratus (CIL XIII 8352; ILS 7538; Galsterer 1975, 78 Nr. 325 Taf. 71) - Kleanthes (Juv. 2.7). - C. Tullius Crescens (CIL VI 33886). - Ulpius Nikephoros (IG XIV 419. 420; Bitto 2001, 95-100 Nr. 34 Abb.). - Zu mercatores und negotiatores allgemein s. Schlippschuh 1974; Kneißl 1983.

³ Vgl. bisher allg. Kruschwitz 1999.

⁴ Jordan 1872; Friedländer/Wissowa I, 1922, 165-166; Raskin 1936; Zimmer 1981, 57-59; Trillmich 1983, 320-321; Gassner 1986, 43-45; Gesemann 1996, 165-169; Grimaldi Bernardi (2005) 65-74.

⁵ Donderer 1994.

⁶ Unter Signatur soll hier eine eigenständige Werkstattinschrift auf der Basis oder am Werk selbst verstanden werden, unabhängig davon, ob die Inschrift wirklich vom Verfertiger angebracht worden ist oder nicht; denn selbst wenn die Nennung nicht vom Schöpfer stammt, ist anzunehmen, dass der Verantwortliche auf Inhalt und Formulierung der Aussage Einfluss genommen hat. Zudem wird hier unter Bildhauer nicht nur der in Stein arbeitende Handwerker, sondern auch der Bronzegießer verstanden, da anhand der Basen nicht immer zweifelsfrei feststellbar ist, ob sie ehemals Marmor- oder Bronzestatuen getragen haben. - Vgl. allgemein Calabi Limentani 1958, 86-91; Burford 1972, 207-218; Calabi Limentani 1977-1978; Siebert 1978.

⁷ Vgl. Viviers 1987.

⁸ z.B. Athen und Attika: Loewy 1885, 83-93, 101-110; Raubitschek 1949, *passim*; Stewart 1979, 101-114. 157-174; Keesling 2003, 208-209. - Delos: Loewy 1885, 109-110, 158-162; Marcadé 1957, *passim*; Marcadé 1969, 55-82. - Delphi: Marcadé 1953, *passim*. - Messene: Themelis 2002, 229-241. - Olympia: Dittenberger/Purgold 1896, *passim*. - Oropos: Petrakos 1997, *passim*. - Pergamon: Loewy 1885, 113-126; Fränkel 1890, *passim*. - Rhodos: Loewy 1885, 127-157; Hiller von Gaertringen 1931, 827-840; Blinkenberg 1941, 51-60; Goodlett 1991; Gabrielsen 1992, 56-65; Zimmer/Mpairame 2008, 79-94.

⁹ z.B. Aphrodisias: Squarciapino 1943, 11-12; Erism/ Reynolds 1989. - Rom: Loewy 1885, 238-246; Richter 1951a, 45-54; Moretti 1990, 42-92.

¹⁰ z.B. Alexandria: Donderer 2001. - Kos: IG XII 4,1; Höghammar 1993, 104-105; Kabus-Preißhofen 1989. - Zu entsprechenden Zentren der Römerzeit s. unten Anm. 124-127.

¹¹ Vgl. allgemein Kudlien 1994.

¹² Dies gilt offensichtlich auch für Militärbildhauer, deren Signaturen sich in Rom/Ostia und Castellum Dimmidi - Messad massieren: Donderer 2003, 107.

¹³ Für Mosaizistensignaturen liegt dieser Schluss nahe: Donderer 1989, 46 mit Belegen.

¹⁴ Häufig war die Signatur in kleineren Buchstaben deutlich von dem Widmungstext auf der Basis eingeschrieben. Dies aber kann kaum bedeuten, dass der genannte Handwerker nicht nur für die Statue, sondern für das gesamte Monument verantwortlich gewesen sei; so jedoch Smith 2006, 28. Bei einem Bildhauer mag dies noch vorstellbar gewesen sein, doch was ist mit einem Bronzegießer? Musste dieser eine Abteilung für Marmorbasen seinem Atelier angeschlossen haben?

¹⁵ Ursprünglich boten wohl Votivtexte das Vorbild für Signaturen auf dem Werk: Donderer 1996c. - Später war

- wahrscheinlich ein weiter Transportweg ursächlich für eine Werkstattaufschrift auf dem Produkt selbst, da Basen nicht mittransportiert wurden: Donderer 1988, 66-67.
- ¹⁶ Untersuchungen dazu stehen noch weitestgehend aus und können in diesem Rahmen nicht nachgeholt werden; daher werden hier jeweils auch nicht alle möglichen, sondern nur einige markante Belege beigebracht.
- ¹⁷ Donderer 1998, 167 mit Lit. - Dem entspricht im Lateinischen das Verbum *facere*: Donderer 1998, 168.
- ¹⁸ Allg. s. Robert 1982, 376 Anm. 7; Mitchell 1985, 55.
- ¹⁹ Donderer 2001, 178-179.
- ²⁰ z.B. Loewy 1885, 289-294.
- ²¹ z.B. Γάιος φάβιος / Πρόκλος ἦρωι ἐπόησεν / Ἀμμία ἐκ τῶν / ἐκείνου μνή[μ]ης χάριν. Ἐγλυψ[εν] / Λούκιος Γάϊου / [---]. *Gaius Fabius Proklos ließ es für den heroisierten Verstorbenen errichten, Ammia wegen dessen Angedenkens aus eigenen Mitteln. Gemeißelt hat es Lucius, der Sohn des Gaius.* (Vladvilovci bei Tito Veles, Rep. Mazedonien, Grabrelief, Kaiserzeit): Vulić 1931, 31 Nr. 62 Abb. - Allg. Guarducci 1974, 8; Moretti 1972, Nr. 267, 280, 287, 291, 292, 302, 304, 318, 322, 326 *et passim*; Donderer 1996c, 50.
- ²² Calabi Limentani 1958, 91.
- ²³ z.B. Ridgway 1977, 292; 1993, 427; Rice 1986, 234; Andreae 1988, 99; Goodlett 1989, 156.
- ²⁴ Fülle 1997, 116.
- ²⁵ z.B. [Αν]τίοχος / [Ἀθ]ηναῖος / [ἐ]ποίηι. (Rom, 1. Jh. v. Chr.; Athena Parthenos des Phidias): IG XIV 1233; Overbeck 1868, Nr. 2221; Loewy 1885, 241 Nr. 342; Richter 1951a, 45-46 Abb. 84; Moretti 1990, 56 Nr. 1554 Abb.; Nick 2002, 240-242 Nr. A 17; KLA I (2001) 55 s.v. Antiochos V (E. Paul/W. Müller). - Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀρχίου Ἀθηναῖος ἐπόησε. (Herculaneum, 2. Hälfte 1. Jh. v. Chr.; Doryphoros des Polyklet, Bronzeherme): IG XIV 712; Overbeck 1868, Nr. 2217; Loewy 1885, 240-241 Nr. 341; Kreikenbom 1990a, 81-85. 174 Nr. III 42 Taf. 172-175; KLA I (2001) 72 s.v. Apollonios VII (W. Müller); Thomas 2002, 242-244 Abb. 1; Mattusch 2005, 276-282 Abb. 5, 187-190. - Γλύκων / Ἀθηναῖος / ἐποίηι. (Rom, severisch; ausrunder Herakles des Lysipp): IG XIV 1238; Overbeck 1868, Nr. 2230; Moretti 1990, 58 Nr. 1556 Abb.; KLA I (2001) 268-269 s.v. Glykon I (R. Vollkommer); Schneider 2005. - Εὐήμερος Ἀθηναῖος / ἐποίει. (Apollonia, 2. Jh. n. Chr.; Athena Parthenos des Phidias): Franke 1983, 58 Abb. 91; Cabanes/Ceka 1997, 20 Nr. 19 Taf. 2; KLA I (2001) 222 s.v. Euemeros II (A. Herr); Nick 2002, 185. 251 Nr. A 41. - Vgl. allg. Cain/Dräger 1994, 816.
- ²⁶ Ἀπὸ τῆς / ἐν Τρωάδι / Ἀφροδίτης / Μηνόφαντος / ἐποίηι. (Rom, 1. Jh. n. Chr.): IG XIV 1255; Overbeck 1868, Nr. 2301; Loewy 1885, 264 Nr. 377; Moretti 1990, 75 Nr. 1577 Abb.; Moreno 1994, 109-110. 498, 657, 664-665, 668, 716 Abb. 797; Donderer 2004, 83-84 Abb. 3. 4; KLA II (2004) 70-71 s.v. Menophantos (H. Weinstock).
- ²⁷ So ausdrücklich Andreae 1988, 99.
- ²⁸ Scheibler 1984, 131-132; Philipp 1990, 90; Cohen 1991; Sarian 1993; Ling 2000, 97; Donderer 2001, 181; Pécasse 2002; Villard 2002; Maras 2005; Viviers 2006, bes. 141-142 mit der älteren Literatur.
- ²⁹ Loewy 1885, XV; Homann-Wedeking 1935-1936, 212-213; Rumpf 1936, 57-58; Brommer 1950, 85-95; Mentzou 1975, 198-200; Goodlett 1989; Philipp 1990, 91. - Vgl. auch Votive, die von Handwerker-Gemeinschaften geweiht worden sind: Scheibler 1990, 102.
- ³⁰ z.B. [---] γένης καὶ Ἀ(λ)εξ[---] / [---]οι ἐποίηον[ν]. (Gabii, Kaiserzeit): Loewy 1885, 269 Nr. 384; Espérandieu 1907, 475-476 Nr. 822 Abb. - Ἀριστέας καὶ Παπίας Ἀφροδισεῖς. (Tibur - Tivoli, hadrianisch): IG XIV 1237; Loewy 1885, 259-260 Nr. 369; Mancini 1952, 177-178 Nr. 590 Abb.; Raeder 1983, 63-65 Nr. I 46. 47; Bergmann 1999, 37, 55, 62 Taf. 73. 74, 2.4; 75.1.2; KLA I (2001) 81 s.v. Aristas I (G. Bröker); KLA II (2004) 183 s.v. Papias II (M. Wüstefeld); Morawietz 2005, 47-67 Taf. 15-24; 35-40 a; Vorster 2007, 306-308 Abb. 298.
- ³¹ z.B. [Ζ]ήλας Τειμέου καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀτταπινίς λατύποι. (Kütahya, spätes 2. Jh. n. Chr.): Loewy 1885, 272 Nr. 389; Waelkens 1986, 90. 92. 97 Nr. 228 Taf. 33; Lochman 2003, 98. 100. 260 Nr. II 89. - Ζήλας καὶ Ἐπιτύνη/χανος λατύποι. (Akça, Ende 2. Jh. n. Chr.): Drew-Bear 1976, 254-255 Nr. 11 Taf. 8,3; Lochman 2003, 98 Nr. 11; 101. 277 Nr. II 303.
- ³² Donderer 2007, 28.
- ³³ Cook 1971, 137-138; Williams 1995, 145, 154-155.
- ³⁴ Conticello 1974, 32-33 Taf. 33 b; Goodlett 1989, 155-159 Nr. H. 35; Conticello 1996, 285 Abb. 3; Sirigu 2007, 266-272 Abb. 2.
- ³⁵ Lombardi 1998, 310-313.
- ³⁶ z.B. Loewy 1885, Nr. 83, 154, 155, 166, 181; Thimme 1946, 347 Anm. 15.
- ³⁷ Μαθοῦν Δισπᾶ ἐποίησε/ν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων Διὶ / Ἀστρονῶ. Ἦγαγεν δὲ λατύπους Τάρασιν Μανέου καὶ Ζηζίν Πα / Πο<ρι>νδεῖς καὶ Λούκιος Λεωνᾶ Ἀστρον[ν]ὸς ἀπήρτισαν. *Mathoun, der Sohn des Dispas, hat es eigenen Mitteln für Zeus Astrenos machen lassen. Er hat (dafür) die Bildhauer Tarasis, den Sohn des Maneas, und Zezis, den Sohn des Pa, die beide aus Porinda stammen, herbeigeht. Diese und Loukios, der Sohn des Leonas, aus Astra stammend, haben es gefertigt.* (Dikmen, Isaurien, Kaiserzeit): Mendel 1909, 299-300; Hereward 1958, 73-74 Fig. 21; Bean/Mitford 1970, 134.
- ³⁸ Ἡμᾶς ἐποίησε Γενέλεως: IG XII 6, 2, 559 A Taf. 2; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 106-130; Donderer 1996c, 90 Abb. 5. 6; Löhr 2000, 14-17 Nr. 10; Bumke 2004, 82-90 Taf. 17. 18.
- ³⁹ So schon richtig Martini 1990, 218-220.
- ⁴⁰ Loewy 1885, 235 Nr. 332; Dittenberger/Purgold 1896, 657-658 Nr. 642; Hitzl 1991, 38-43 Nr. 2 (Lit.); 62-63, 67-68, 84 Taf. 8-13.
- ⁴¹ Donderer 2007, 26-28, 30-31 Nr. 2 (Lit.) Taf. 3,1-3.
- ⁴² Goette 1990, 128 Nr. Ba 303-306; Trillmich 1990, 314 Taf. 27. 28 b; KLA I (2001) 107 s.v. Aulius Fidius, Gaius (R. Vollkommer); Ramírez Sádaba 2003, 141-148 Nr. 78-84 Taf. 63-68.
- ⁴³ Boschung/Pfanner 1988, 25 Abb. 16; Cain/Dräger 1994, 824; Nogales Basarrate 1999, 495-496 Abb. 6.
- ⁴⁴ Plin. *nat.* 34.37; Overbeck 1868, Nr. 1445; Muller-Dufeu 2002, 588/89 Nr. 1751; Moreno 1974, 176 Nr. 52; 179.
- ⁴⁵ Man vergleiche nur die enorme Werkstattkapazität Bertel Thorvaldsens in Rom, der nur ganz selten den Marmor eigenhändig bearbeitete: Helsted 1977; Tesan 1998 *passim*.
- ⁴⁶ Anteio(s) ex of(f)icina M(---) M(---). (Kaçaria; fortgeschrittene Kaiserzeit): CIL VIII 4779 = 17734; Calabi Limentani 1958, 165 Nr. 111; Donderer 2000-2001, 87. - Vgl. auch eine nordafrikanische Grabstele, auf welcher der Bildhauername vor dem Verbum verloren gegangen ist: [---] fecit ex off(icina) Catti Lagoi Tib(icensis?). (Bir Magra, spätantik): Saumagne 1946-49, 80 Nr. 11; AE 1946, 77; Calabi Limentani 1958, 166 Nr. 120.
- ⁴⁷ Ex of(f)icina / Urvani et Calendar(i oder -is). (Bir Bak-tach, spätantik): Marrou 1962-65; AE 1967, 562.
- ⁴⁸ Ἀντωνεῖ/νος Ἀντιόχου Ἀλε/ξανδρεῖς / ὁ αὐτὸς ἐποίηι. (Gerasa, 2. Jh. n. Chr.): Donderer 2001, 178 Nr. 6; Weber

- 2002, 487-488 Nr. C 6 Taf. 126 B.D; Friedland 2003, 439-442 Nr. 3 Abb. 3. - 'Ο αὐτὸς ist offenbar erst sekundär hinzugesetzt worden. An sich würde man das Pronomen ohne Artikel erwarten, doch ergibt die Bedeutung 'der nämliche' an dieser Stelle keinen Sinn. - Vgl. auch die Formel *manu* mit folgendem Genitiv auf Architekturteilen (Calabi Limentani 1958, 91) und zahlreich auf gallischer Sigillata (Kiechle 1969, 80; Mees 1995, 209-210; Fülle 2000, 56-57).
- ⁴⁹ Auch in nachantiken Verträgen (Spear 2002) und Künstlersignaturen (Claussen 1981, 10. 12; Dietl 1987, 94-100) taucht gelegentlich der ausdrückliche Hinweis auf eigenhändige Ausführung auf.
- ⁵⁰ So schon Roueché/Erim 1982, 108; Pensabene 1983, 61; Martini 1990, 219; Cain/Dräger 1994, 823; Tanner 1999, 142. - Gleiches wurde wohl zu Recht für die Namen auf Glasgefäßen vermutet: Kiechle 1969, 62-64.
- ⁵¹ Lauter 1980; Sève 2008. - Dies gilt auch für etliche griechische Vasenproduzenten: Williams 2009, 310-311.
- ⁵² Stewart 1979, 105-111; Roueché/Erim 1982; Thomas 1983, 125-126, 132-133; Goodlett 1989, 162-163; Habicht 1995, 118; Chankowski et al. 1998; Damaskos 1999, 317-324; Tanner 1999, 138-139; Schultz 2003.
- ⁵³ Habicht 1995, 118-119.
- ⁵⁴ z.B. die Epitheta Φλ(άουιος), ἀρχιερεύς, κόμης und διασημώτατος bei den Signaturen und Basisaufschriften dreier Ateliereigner in Aphrodisias und Rom: s. unten Anm. 91, 92.
- ⁵⁵ Urlichs 1887; Tanner 1999, 152.
- ⁵⁶ Vgl. unten Anm. 118.
- ⁵⁷ IG IV² 1, 102 Z. 255, 275-306; Burford 1969, 218-220; Mulliez 1998, 818. - Auch Phidias wurde als Unternehmer bezeichnet (Plu. *Per.* 31): φειδίας ὁ πλάστης ἐργολάβος.
- ⁵⁸ Dig. 17, 2, 52 § 7: *Inter Flavium Victorem et Bellicum Asianum placuerat, ut locis emptis pecunia Victoris monumenta fierent opera et peritia Asiani, quibus distractis pecuniam Victor cum certa quantitate reciperet, superfluum Asianus acciperet, qui operam in societatem contulit: Erit pro socio actio* (Flavius Victor und Bellicus Asianus waren übereingekommen, mit dem Geld des Victor Grundstücke zu kaufen, auf denen Asianus mit seiner Arbeit und Fachkunde Grabanlagen errichten sollte. Nach deren Verkauf sollte Victor das Geld zuzüglich einer bestimmten Summe zurückerhalten, den Überschuss sollte Asianus bekommen, der seine Arbeit als Beitrag in die Gesellschaft eingebracht hatte. In diesem Fall ist die Gesellschafterklage gegeben.). - Vgl. Friedländer/Wissowa I, 1922, 163.
- ⁵⁹ Calabi Limentani 1958, 91; vgl. auch Anm. 46, 47.
- ⁶⁰ Donderer 2000-2001.
- ⁶¹ Γ(άιος) Ἰούλιος Λον/γείνος νέος / ἐπόησεν. (Inschrift auf Türsturz eines Grabes in Tocra, Kaiserzeit): SEG 9 (1938-44), 629; Oliverio 1936, 214 Nr. 363 Abb. 42.
- ⁶² Τιμαρχίδης Πολυκλέους Θοορίκιος νεώτερος ἐπόησεν. (Athen, Mitte 2. Jh. v. Chr.): IG II/III² 4302; Marcadé 1957, 132 Abb.; Despinis 1995, 351. 364 Taf. 79,1. - Ἡρόδο[τος ἐποίη] νεώτερος. (Rom, frühe Kaiserzeit?): IG XIV 1149,6; Moretti 1990, 4-5 Nr. 1496. - Οὐαλέριος λευ/κουργὸς νεώτερος ἤργασμε. (Anazarbus - Çucukören, Kilikien, Kaiserzeit): Dagron/Feissel 1987, 189-190 Nr. 110 Taf. 46; SEG 37, 1987 (1990), 1253.
- ⁶³ Opus Scopae minoris. (Rom, 2./3. Jh. n. Chr.): CIL VI 33936; ILS 5483; Stewart 1977, 135 Nr. 49; Coarelli 1988, 96, 101, 180, 201-202 Abb. 17; Bonanno-Aravantinos 1991, 158-162. - Vgl. allgemein Chantraine 1967, 385.
- ⁶⁴ Ausnahmen z.B. Calabi Limentani 1958, Nr. 60, 78, 86, 91, 95, 101.
- ⁶⁵ Dafür spricht, dass mindestens zwei rhodische Bildhauer neben ihrem leiblichen Vater zusätzlich ihren Adoptivvater angegeben haben: Nocita 2007, 1031. - Vgl. aber unten mit Anm. 73.
- ⁶⁶ z.B. Loewy 1885, Nr. 334, 350, 357; Calabi Limentani 1958, 165 Nr. 108-110.
- ⁶⁷ Merkelbach 1976.
- ⁶⁸ z.B. Ἀνθος Κνίδιος μέτοικος ἐποίη bzw. ἐποίησε. (Kamiroi, späthellenistisch): Segre/Pugliese Carratelli 1949-1951, 223 Nr. 87; KLA I (2001) 51 s.v. Anthos (D. Rößler) bzw. (Rhodos, späthellenistisch): Jacopi 1929, 198 Nr. 30; KLA *ibid.* - Μάαρκος / Κοσσού/τιος Μάαρκου / ἀπελεύ/θερος / Κέρδων / ἐποίη. (Lanuvium, mittleres 1. Jh. v. Chr.): IG XIV 1249 a; Overbeck 1868, Nr. 2302 A; Loewy 1885, 263-264 Nr. 376 a; Fuchs 1999, 64-68 (Lit.) Abb. 2 Taf. 54, 56, 58; KLA I (2001) 147-148 s.v. Cossutius Cerdo, Marcus (R. Vollkommer); Donderer 2004, 82. - Vgl. auch P(ublius) Cincius P(ubli) l(ibertus) Salvius fecit. (Rom, 1. Jh. n. Chr.): CIL VI 29794; Di Stefano Manzella 1986; Finch 1991; KLA I (2001) 142 s.v. Cincius Salvius, P. (R. Vollkommer). - Eutyches / lib(ertus) sc(ulpsit oder -ripsit). (Podpece, Grabaltar, frühe Kaiserzeit?): Hoffiller/Saria 1938, 81-82 Nr. 179 Abb. - Scripsit Ampelius libertus. (Rom, Sarkophag, 217 n. Chr.): CIL VI 8498; ILS 1738; Bovini 1949, 14-15 Nr. 1; Granino Cecere 2001, 192 Abb. 194. 195; Donderer 2004, 91. - [---]seus serv(u)s Pis(onis) fecit. (Rom, Wandmalerei, Mitte 1. n. Chr.): Santa Maria Scrinari 1991, 86 Farabb. 96, 98. - Schon unter den schwarzfigurigen Vasenmalern des 6. Jh. v. Chr. gibt es den Beleg für einen Sklaven: Canciani/Neumann 1978; Scheibler 107. - Hinzu treten von der mittleren römischen Republik bis zum Beginn der Kaiserzeit Keramikstempel mit weiteren Sklavennamen: Staerman 1976, 109-110, 112; Prachner 1989.
- ⁶⁹ Raubitschek 1949, 473; Burford 1972, 84; Scheibler 1990, 102; Thomas 2002, 243; Thomas 2007, 325. - So auch schon für Vasenmaler vermutet: Williams 2009, 309. - Zurückhaltend dagegen Philipp 1990, 90 mit Anm. 111.
- ⁷⁰ Λύσιππος Λυσίππου (?) Σικυνώνιος ἐποίησε. (Delphi, ca. 360 v.Chr.): Marcadé 1953, 66 Abb.; Moreno 1974, 43 Nr. 2; 52-55 Abb. 9; Gallavotti 1985, 55-57; Hansen 1989, 199-200 Nr. 791; Moreno 1995, 48-49 Nr. 4,2 Abb.
- ⁷¹ Marcadé 1953, 66-75; Moreno 1974, 43-46.
- ⁷² Zutreffen mag dies auch auf den Bildhauer Theon, von dessen zahlreichen Signaturen nur eine den Vatersnamen angibt; allerdings liegt - wie so oft - kein verwertbarer Hinweis auf eine relative Abfolge der Basen vor: Donderer 2001, 169-174.
- ⁷³ Plin. *nat.* 36.34: *Parentum hi certamen de se facere Menecratem videri professi, sed esse naturalem Artemidorum.* (Diese [Apollonios und Tauriskos] entfachten über ihre Person eine Diskussion hinsichtlich der Erzeuger, indem sie öffentlich kundtaten, es scheine Menekrates zu sein, in Wirklichkeit aber sei es Artemidoros.). - Vgl. zur oben genannten Interpretation Börker 1986; KLA II (2004) 65 s.v. Menekrates II (M. Kunze).
- ⁷⁴ z.B. Becatti 1940, 14-22; Blinkenberg 1941, 30-50; Toynbee 1951, 19-21; Marcadé 1957, 131; Coarelli 1969-1970; Burford 1972, 85; Rawson 1975; Torelli 1980; Habicht 1982, 178-180; Queyrel 1991, 448-464; Despinis 1995; Lochman 2003, 99-101; SEG 55, 2005 (2009), 2104; Badoud 2010. - Vgl. auch Schmidt-Colinet 1983 sowie in Bezug auf die Toreutik Petrovsky 1993, 384.
- ⁷⁵ Στέφανος Παστέλους / μαθητὴς ἐποίη. (Rom, 2. Hälfte 1. Jh. v. Chr.): IG XIV 1261; Overbeck 1868, Nr. 2265; Loewy 1885, 262 Nr. 374; Moretti 1990, 80 Nr. 1584

- Abb.; KLA II (2004) 420-422 s.v. Stephanos (H. Weinstock); Kousser 2008, 146-148 Abb. 70. - Μενέλαος / Στεφάνου / μαθητής / ἐποίη. (Rom, frühe Kaiserzeit): IG XIV 1251; Overbeck 1868, Nr. 2267; Loewy 1885, 263 Nr. 375; Moretti 1990, 73 Nr. 1575 Abb.; Kreikenbom 1999; KLA I (2001) 148 s.v. Cossutius Menelaos, Marcus (R. Vollkommer); Thomas 2007, 327 Abb. 2.3. - Allg. Schulz-Falkenthal (1972).
- ⁷⁶ z.B. Ἀπολλώνιος / Νέστορος / Ἀθηναῖος / ἐποίη. (Rom, Mitte 1. Jh. v. Chr.): IG XIV 1234; Overbeck 1868, Nr. 2214; Loewy 1885, 241-243 Nr. 343; Raack 1988; Geominy/Lehmann 1989, 147-149 Abb. 8 b; Moretti 1990, 56-57 Nr. 1555 Abb.; Meyer 2007-2008.
- ⁷⁷ Ausnahmen in Athen und Rhodos: Gabrielsen 1992, 47; Nocita 2007, 1030. - Zu Ausnahmen bei Vasenmalern: Williams 2009, 310.
- ⁷⁸ Goodlett 1989, 163-164.
- ⁷⁹ Burford 1972, 150. - Die genaue Bedeutung des Ausdrucks ist bis heute umstritten: Nocita 2007, 1030, 1035-1036.
- ⁸⁰ S. oben Anm. 68.
- ⁸¹ Εὐπ[ο]λέης [Λαοδικεὺς] ἀπὸ Λύκου / ὁ καὶ Ῥόδιος ἐποίησε. (Euprepes mit dem Bürgerrecht der Städte Laodikeia am Lykos und Rhodos schuf dies.): IG XII 1, 92; Loewy 1885, 217 Nr. 303; Gabrielsen 1992, 60 Nr. 17 a; KLA I (2001) 237 s.v. Euprepes (R. Vollkommer); Zimmer/Mpairame 2008, 87 Nr. 126.
- ⁸² Linfert 1981, 500; Erism/Rouché 1982, 108. 111; Goodlett 1989, 219-220; Goodlett 1991, 680; Donderer 1996c, 101; Saladino 1998, 985; Kreikenbom 1999, 345. - Anders Thomas 2002, 244.
- ⁸³ Dahmen 2001, 127 mit Anm. 1136; Thomas 2002, 244-246.
- ⁸⁴ Gianfrotta/Pomey 1981, 190-219; Donderer 1988, 66; Beurdeley 1991, *passim*; Cain/Dräger 1994, 812; Gelsdorf 1994; Arata 2005, *passim*.
- ⁸⁵ Loewy 1885, 239-246; Richter 1951a, 45-54; Toynbee 1951, 24-26; Moretti 1990, 56-84 Nr. 1554-1556, 1568, 1570, 1582, 1585, 1587, 1589; Cain/Dräger 1994, 815-819.
- ⁸⁶ Paus. IV 32, 1: Τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ποιήματα ἔστιν ἀνδρῶν Αἰγυπτίων, Ἑρμῆς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς τε καὶ Θησεύς. (Die Weihgeschenke im Gymnasium sind Werke von Ägyptern, nämlich der Hermes, der Herakles und der Theseus.).
- ⁸⁷ Donderer 2001, 176-177 Nr. 3.4.
- ⁸⁸ z.B. Κλεομένης / Κλεομένους / Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησεν. (Rom, 2. Hälfte 1. Jh. v. Chr.): IG XIV 1247; Overbeck 1868, Nr. 2224; Loewy 1885, 243-244 Nr. 344; Kersauson 1986, 46 Nr. 18 Abb.; Moretti 1990, 68-69 Nr. 1568 Abb.; Vorster 2001, 390, 397-398, 402 Abb. 2; Ridgway 2002, 265-266 Taf. 115. - Zu dieser Interpretation s. Cain/Dräger 1994, 815-820; Donderer 1996c, 101; Thomas 2007, 325-326.
- ⁸⁹ Goodlett 1991, 680; Gabrielsen 1992, 51, 53-56; Nocita 2007, 1030.
- ⁹⁰ Moltesen 2000; Moltesen 2002, 352-372; Meischner 2008.
- ⁹¹ Flavius Andronikos, Flavius Zenon, Flavius Chryseros: IG XIV 1266-1271, 1273-1276, 1279-1283; Squarciapino 1943, 13-15 Nr. 10-22 Taf. A a.b.d.; Moretti 1990, 85-90 Nr. 1592-1611. - Ausdrücklich als Ateliereigner angesprochen von Willers 1996, 182.
- ⁹² Roueché/Erism 1982; Roueché 1989, 25-29 Nr. 11-13 Taf. 4.
- ⁹³ Moltesen 1988, 436-439; 2000, 121-122; Matthews/Walker 1990.
- ⁹⁴ Hannestad 1994, 110-117; 2002; Bergmann 1999, 14-17; Kranz 2006, 120-141.
- ⁹⁵ Vgl. unten Anm 102. - Ablehnend zu dieser These Richter 1955, 102-103.
- ⁹⁶ In wenigen Fällen konnte das Verbum ποιεῖν auch in lateinischer Transkription verwendet werden, wohl weil sich die Mehrheit der Leser offensichtlich über die Bedeutung des Fremdwortes im klaren war: Donderer 1995, 106-108.
- ⁹⁷ Chantraine 1967, 4 mit Anm. 2; Treggiari 1969, 252; Solin 1971, 134-135; Christes 1979, 44-45; Solin 1989.
- ⁹⁸ Schäfer 2001, 257-258 (Lit.).
- ⁹⁹ Horsmann 1998, 22 mit Anm. 31.
- ¹⁰⁰ Drexel 1921, 201; Kudlien 1986, 17, 22, 49, 64, 74; Korpela 1987, 54-55; Solin 1995; Solin 1998-1999.
- ¹⁰¹ Friedländer 1859; Drexel 1921, 197-201; Bonaria 1959; Chantraine 1967, 380-384; Leppin 1992, 181-183.
- ¹⁰² z.B. Cheirisophos (Kreta, Archaik): Paus. 8.53.7; Muller-Dufeu 2002, 114/15 Nr. 308; KLA I (2001) 136 s.v. Cheirisophos I (R. Vollkommer). - Euglyphis Onesimos (Mytilas - Milas, 2. Hälfte 3. Jh. n. Chr.): Waelkens 1986, 107-109 Nr. 252 Taf. 41; SEG 39, 1989 (1992), 1415; KLA I (2001) 224 s.v. Euglyphis Onesimos (T. Lochman). - Eucheir bzw. Eucheiros (mehrere Kunsthandwerker von der Archaik bis zum Hellenismus): Overbeck 1868, Nr. 2236-2244; KLA I (2001) 220-221 s.v. Eucheir bzw. Eucheiros. - Furios Dionysius Filocalus (Rom, Spätantike): KLA I (2001) 256 s.v. Filocalus, Furios Dionysius (sic) (M. Dennert). - Xysticus (Berkach, Hessen, fortgeschrittene Kaiserzeit): CIL XIII 6428; Mattern 2005, 171-172 Nr. 316 Taf. 112, 113. - Vgl. auch den Toreuten namens Cheirisophos (Hoby, augusteisch): Poulsen 1968; Thomas 2000; KLA I (2001) 136 s.v. Cheirisophos II (R. Vollkommer); Simon 2002; Thomas 2007, 333-334; sowie die Vasenmaler namens Ergoteles, Ergotimos und Eucheiros: Williams 2009, 309-310. - Allgemein dazu Burford 1972, 210-211.
- ¹⁰³ Friedländer 1859, II, 6-7; Drexel 1921, 201-202; Burford 1972, 210; Rice 1986, 247 Anm. 86; Mielsch 1995, 777; Schalles 2004, 425 mit Anm. 55. - Umstritten ist bis heute vielfach, ob die Existenz literarisch oder inschriftlich unterschiedlichen Zeiten zugewiesener berühmter Bildhauer gleichen Namens auf homonyme Mitglieder derselben Familie, auf Verwechselungen oder auf Basen zurückzuführen ist, die in späterer Zeit erneuert wurden, z.B. Kalamis: KLA I (2001) 373-385 s.v. Kalamis I-II. - Kephisodotos: KLA I (2001) 408-411 s.v. Kephisodotos I-III. - Leochares: KLA II (2004) 5-11 s.v. Leochares I. II. - Lysippos: KLA II (2004) 27-40 s.v. Lysippos I-IV. - Myron: KLA II (2004) 96-104 s.v. Myron I-VI. - Pheidias: KLA II (2004) 210-236 s.v. Pheidias I-V. - Polykleitos: KLA II (2004) 276-290 s.v. Polykleitos I-III. - Praxiteles: KLA II (2004) 304-320 s.v. Praxiteles I-V. - Skopas: KLA II (2004) 391-397 s.v. Skopas I-III. - Aber selbst im Falle der Zugehörigkeit zur gleichen Familie lässt sich eine bewusste Namensübernahme aus beruflichen Gründen nicht vollkommen ausschließen.
- ¹⁰⁴ Grabrelief mit sitzendem Bildhauer: Q(uintus) Lollius Alcamenes / dec(urio) et duumvir. (Rom, mittleres 1. Jh. n. Chr.): CIL VI 29707; Zimmer 1981, 156-157 Nr. 79 Abb.; Lahusen 1989; KLA II (2004) 20-21 s.v. Lollius Alcamenes (R. Vollkommer); Thomas 2007, 329 Anm. 32 Abb. 4.
- ¹⁰⁵ Q(uintus) Dellius Q(uintus) I(ibertus) / Myro / statuarius. (Verona, 1. Jh. n. Chr.): AE 1998, 591; Buonopane 1998; KLA I (2001) 163 s.v. Dellius Myro, Quintus (U. Huttner).
- ¹⁰⁶ Φιδίας καὶ Ἀμμώνιος ἀμφότεροι / φιδίου ἐποίουν. (Rom, Mitte 2. Jh. n. Chr.): IG XIV 1264; Loewy 1885, 267-268 Nr. 382; Moretti 1990, 82-83 Nr. 1588; KLA I (2001) 31-32 s.v. Ammonios IV (E. Paul/W. Müller);

- Donderer 2004, 88 Abb. 10. 11.
- ¹⁰⁷ Dies könnte z.B. für Pasiteles mit seinen Rückgriffen auf den Strengen Stil zutreffen, da sein Namensvetter genau in dieser Kunstphase tätig war: Donderer 1988, 67-68.
- ¹⁰⁸ Vgl. auch dieses Phänomen bei neuzeitlichen Gemmenschneidern: Berthold 2009.
- ¹⁰⁹ Friedländer/Wissowa III (1923) 112-113; Andrén 1986, 52-56; Gill/Wiseman (1993); Fuchs (1999) 39-52; Fuchs (im Druck).
- ¹¹⁰ Fuchs 1999, 23 mit Nachweisen; Kreikenbom 1990b, 38.
- ¹¹¹ [---]ηνόδο[τος --- καὶ ---]φῶν Ῥόδιος ἐπόο[υν]: IG XIV 2274; Loewy 1885, 344-345 Nr. 515; Dow 1941, 357-359; Ridgway 1967, 44, 68 Abb. 1; Goodlett 1989, 153-154, 198; Fuchs 1999, 23 Abb. 1; Donderer 2004, 92 Abb. 24.
- ¹¹² Ἀγασίας Μηνοφίλου Ἐφέσιος ἐπόει. Ἀρίστανδρος Σκόπα Πάριος ἐπεσκέυασεν (Restaurierung zwischen 88 und 69 v.Chr.): Marcadé (1957) 10-11 Abb. Taf. 27,1-3; KLA I (2001) 80-81 s.v. Aristandros III (W. Müller).
- ¹¹³ Ridgway 1967; 1984, 22-23; 1993, 458 Abb. 151; 2002, 147-148 Taf. 58A-c; Zagdoun 1989, 147-148, 213, 247 Nr. 347; 2002, 66-67 Abb. 1; Mattusch 1996, 139, 225 Taf. 6; Fuchs 1999, 23-28, 40-41 Taf. 24. 25.
- ¹¹⁴ Donderer 2004; 2007, 29.
- ¹¹⁵ Donderer 2004, 95.
- ¹¹⁶ S. oben Anm. 26.
- ¹¹⁷ Donderer 2007, 29-30, 32-34.
- ¹¹⁸ Vgl. Burford 1972, 170-176; Scheibler 1979; Stewart 1979, 106-109; Martini 1990, 218-224; Tanner 1999, 143; Williams 2009, 310-311.
- ¹¹⁹ Donderer 1996b.
- ¹²⁰ Donderer 1996b, 335-336.
- ¹²¹ z.B. für die ephesischen Amazonen: Burford 1972, 253; Donderer 1996b, 337-338.
- ¹²² Loewy 1885, 1-35; Viviers 1992, *passim*; Donos 2008, 383-414. - Vgl. auch Philipp 1990, 84, 88-89.
- ¹²³ Burford 1972, 213-218; Smith 2006, 28. - Vgl. betreffs griechischer Keramik auch Scheibler 1983, 114.
- ¹²⁴ Landwehr 1993, 2000, 2006, 2008.
- ¹²⁵ Donderer 1996c, 100-104.
- ¹²⁶ Donderer 2001, 182-183.
- ¹²⁷ Despinis et al. 1997; 2003.
- ¹²⁸ Dworakowska 1975, 91; Fant 1990; 1993, 78-81; Horster 2001, 215-216; Hirt 2010.
- ¹²⁹ Dworakowska 1983, 194 Index s.v. Ownership.
- ¹³⁰ z.B. Dokimeion - Iscehisar: Monna/Pensabene 1977, 54-55; Fant 1985; Waelkens 1985. - Luni - Carrara: Dolci 1980, 182-185, 213-238. - Mons Porphyrites - Mons Claudianus: Klein 1988, 9, 49. - Prokonnesos: Asgari 1977; Monna/Pensabene 1977, 157-174; Asgari 1990. - Simitthus - Chemtou: Rakob 1994, 98-139; Mackensen 2005. - Allgemein: Pensabene 1972, 352-357; Dworakowska 1983, 200 Index s.v. Sculptures; 204 s.v. Unfinished products; Boschung/Pfanner 1988, 13; Pensabene 1994, 314-315; Stoll 1992, 47-48 mit Anm. 31; Nolte 2009, 215-222.
- ¹³¹ Darauf könnten inschriftlich überlieferte Sklaven und Freigelassene des Kaiserhauses deuten, die Berufe des Bauhandwerks und der Architekturausstattung ausübten: Kolb 1993, 127-128.
- ¹³² CIL XV *passim*; MacMullen 1959, 212; Horster 2001, 117-120.
- ¹³³ CIL XV *passim*; MacMullen 1959, 212; Steinby 1978, 1524-1528; Weaver 1998, 245-246; Lo Cascio 2005.
- ¹³⁴ z.B. Aphrodisias: Rockwell 1991; Van Voorhis 1998; 2008; Rockwell 2008; Smith 2008. - Aquileia: Favaretto 1970. - Baiae: Landwehr 1985. - Delos: Marcadé 1969, 102-109; Jockey 1995; 1998. - Ephesos: Karagöz 1999. - Pompeji: Mustilli 1950, 215-219. - Puteoli-Pozzuoli: De Franciscis 1975. - Rom: Maischberger 1997, 108-156. - Allg. Burford 1972, 78-80; Pfanner 1989, 191-192; Chevallier 1991, 72-75; Ling 2000, 100-102; Nolte 2009, 238-289.
- ¹³⁵ Donderer 2003.
- ¹³⁶ Oder der Dienstgrad wurde einfach verschwiegen, so dass der Handwerker nicht mehr als Legionsangehöriger erkennbar ist, bzw. die Signatur konnte auf der Unterseite einer Bronzestatuetten unter Verfremdung des Individualnamens angebracht werden: Donderer 2003, 108-110.
- ¹³⁷ Dazu demnächst ausführlicher an anderer Stelle.
- ¹³⁸ Zimmer 1990; 1993, 94-101; 2004; Zimmer/Mpairame 2008.
- ¹³⁹ Dig. 50, 10, 3, 2. - Vgl. Donderer 1996a, 30-31 (Lit.); Thomas 2007, 325.
- ¹⁴⁰ Donderer 1996a, 27-34.
- ¹⁴¹ Donderer 1996a, 206-207 Nr. A 103 (Lit.) pl. 38,1; Eck 1997, 402 mit abwegiger Interpretation; Donderer 1998-1999, 70.
- ¹⁴² Donderer 1996a, 29.
- ¹⁴³ Ausnahme z.B. Ex of(ficina) L(uci) Ploti(i) Clementis. (Nordthermen von Hippo Regius, 2. Jh. n. Chr.): Manderscheid 1981, 121 Nr. 466 Taf. 47. - Glykon (Caracallathermen zu Rom): s. oben Anm. 25. - Unter den Skulpturen aus Theaterbauten des Westens ist offenbar keine signierte Plastik erhalten: Fuchs 1987.
- ¹⁴⁴ Richter 1951a, 53-55; 1951b, 185; Toynbee 1951, 23-24; Donderer 2007, 27.
- ¹⁴⁵ Mérida: Anm. 42. - Rom: Anm. 88. - Allg. Richter 1951a, 53-55; 1951b, 185.
- ¹⁴⁶ z.B. Γερμανὸς ἐποίησεν. (unbekannter Provenienz, 2./3. Jh. n. Chr.): Kubitschek 1926, 101 Taf. 2,2; SEG 25 (1971), 835; Ruscio 2003, 76 Nr. 132.
- ¹⁴⁷ Waelkens 1982, 126 Anm. 355; 1986, 20.
- ¹⁴⁸ Pfanner 1989, 172-175; Mattern 2000.
- ¹⁴⁹ Wiegartz 1974, 359; Waelkens 1982, 126; Boschung/Pfanner 1988, 142; Koch 1993, 45-46.
- ¹⁵⁰ Vgl. oben Anm. 21 und 146 sowie z.B. Asblus fec(it). (Donon, 3. Jh. n. Chr.): Hatt 1964, Nr. 162 Abb.; Hatt 1989, 212 Abb. 179. - Deo Rom[u]lo / Gulioepius / donavit. / Iuventinus / fecit. (Custom Scrubs, Kaiserzeit): CIL VII 74; Collingwood/Wright 1965, 40 Nr. 132; McWhirr 1982, 29 Abb. 15.
- ¹⁵¹ Mowat 1883; 1884; Willers 1907, 85-92; Kunow 1983, 117-125; Petrovsky 1993.
- ¹⁵² z.B. Mercado 1973; Buchi 1975; Bailey 1980, 89-121.
- ¹⁵³ z.B. Schauerte 1985, 56-114; Casolo 1987; Kassab 1988; Lange 1994, 142-156; Nachtergaele 1994.
- ¹⁵⁴ z.B. Oswald 1931; Oxé/Comfort 1968; Hartley 2008; Porten Palange 2009.
- ¹⁵⁵ Siebert 1978, 123-124.
- ¹⁵⁶ Burford 1972, 214-215.

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Reviews

MICHAEL DONDERER, *Die Mosaizisten der Antike II. Epigraphische Quellen – Neufunde und Nachträge*. Erlangen: Universitätsbund Erlangen-Nürnberg, 2008. 172 pp., 32 pls; 24,5 cm (Erlanger Forschungen, Reihe A. Geisteswissenschaften, Band 116). – ISBN 978-3-930357-88-8/ISSN 0423-3433.

Michael Donderer's (henceforth M.D.) first monograph on ancient mosaicists and their 'signatures', *Die Mosaizisten der Antike und ihre Wirtschaftliche und soziale Stellung: eine Quellenstudie*, was published in 1989. Since then, new inscribed mosaics have been found within the whole Mediterranean world; others have been restored or made available for closer inspection; in a few cases, recent studies have seriously questioned the current reading and interpretation.

This new book has been conceived essentially as a supplement to the former, dealing with material then unknown and updating the old catalogue. Under these premises, M.D. embarked on a praiseworthy enterprise, aimed at stimulating debate on the widest number of 'signed' mosaics. Both books, of course, share the same perspectives and method, as well as the choice of problems according to which the material is presented.

A short introduction deals with the main theoretical issues at stake: the professional and social standing of the persons named by the inscriptions (pp. 15-17). Firstly, we have to distinguish between the artisan who actually made the mosaic, those who drew its preliminary sketch or wrote the text, the owner of the workshop (who did not need to be a craftsman himself), and the purchaser/donor. Sometimes, a single person could have played more than one role, i.e. the workshop could have been owned by the very same artisan who conceived the pattern and/or arranged the *tesserae*. The question is if each role may be defined by precise word choices, and up to which point does our knowledge of ancient workshop practices allow us to search for coherent categories. The first obstacle is the wide chronological, geographical (and consequently lexical) variety of the inscriptions. Then, a major difficulty arises from their contexts: the relationship between place, customer and mosaicist, of course, changes considerably between a private dwelling and a public building.

Similarly to what he has done with his former book, M.D. introduces the catalogue with a short discussion of the terms defining the relationship between persons and mosaics (pp. 19-30). Being most new texts in Greek, the summary on Latin terminology is little improved (the listed words are: *componere, facere, ex officina, opus, tessellare*). On the other hand, the analysis on Greek vocabulary has been sensibly broadened and several new terms or expression added to the list (διά τινος, ὁ κάματος, κάμνειν, ὁ κεντητής, μουσοῦν, τεύχειν, ὁ τεχνίτης, ἡ χεὶρ, ἡ χειροθεσία, ὁ ψηφάριος, ψηφοθετεῖν, ἡ ψηφοθεσία, ψηφοῦν). Others (γράφειν, ἐργάζεσθαι, τὸ ἔργον, κονιάν, ποιεῖν, ὁ ψηφοθέτης) are discussed under the light of new evidence. However briefly

sketched, this repertoire clarifies a few key semantic problems and helps assessing the methodological approach. New discoveries that either question the supposed chronology and the geographic distribution of a certain word, or challenge our understanding of workshop practices are carefully taken into account. For instance, a 7th century AD inscription from Bostra, in Jordan (catalogue A.22), shows how the verb γράφειν was not necessarily used by an artisan to sign his piece, but could also identify the author of the text (p. 19).

This opening dictionary is clearly conceived as a general guide to read the texts. Therefore, we should not wonder at its concision and apparent lack of interest for a deeper insight into the meaning of each word. Bearing this in mind, we can well understand why the following paragraphs, too, are exceedingly brief when addressing long-debated issues about the social status of artists/artisans in Graeco-Roman antiquity (pp. 32-33) or about workshops' organization (pp. 34-38).

According to the author, during Late Antiquity a perceivable shift in the social recognition of mosaicists took place at least in the Greek-speaking Eastern Mediterranean (mirrored by a parallel evolution of sculptors' signatures). There, an increased number of inscriptions shows that the mosaicists were sometimes allowed by their clients a remarkable liberty to describe themselves and their work on signed pieces. In a few instances, they even acted as donors in prominent public contexts (e.g. during the late 5th century AD, Dorotheos and Euthychos made and donated a mosaic in a basilica in Kos; see catalogue A.7 at pp. 46-47).

The inner organization of workshops, too, can hardly be described according to a standard, generalized hierarchy. When inscriptions mention more than one name, for instance, it remains difficult to determine whether these persons may belong to the same family, or enjoyed the same rank within their workshop, or performed different tasks (drawing the pattern, writing the text, making the mosaic). In most cases, it is impossible to decide whether a name refers to an artisan or to his master, who held the workshop's capital, hired the workmanship and assigned the tasks. On the other hand, a rather vague label such as *ex officina* does not tell us much about the technical competence of the workshop's owner, who could have had little to do with the everyday life of his atelier and with the actual creation of 'his' mosaics.

Understandably, the strength of this book lies in its catalogue. Over 50 new texts are listed within 4 categories: 1) Greek and Latin inscriptions mentioning mosaicists, 2) similar inscriptions in other ancient scripts (Armenian, Palmyrenean-Aramaic, Georgian, Syriac-Aramaic, Iberian), 3) inscriptions perhaps referring to mosaicists, 4) presumably false inscriptions. According to the editorial choices of M.D.'s earlier account of mosaicists' signatures, each catalogue entry provides the text, its translation, information about place and chronology, a short description and a full bibliography. Chronology ranges throughout an impres-

sive span of time - between the late Hellenistic period and the 8th century AD. Provenance, too, could not be less homogeneous, with inscriptions found in the whole territory that can be roughly defined as 'the Roman Empire'. A last section updates almost every entry of the older catalogue. In several cases, M.D. lingers on a few topics emerged in recent research, mentioning a key discovery or discussing in some length an interpretive problem (see catalogue entries nr. A.9, A.12, A.30-32, A.47-49, A.63, A.69, A.71-72, A.75-78, A.83, A.85-86, A.88, B.1, C.1, C.5, C.7-8, C.11, C.17, C.34-35, C.37, C.41). Sometimes, texts (A.19 and A.59) or translations (A.38) are corrected according to new philological research.

As said before, the book remains concise - not to say elusive - on a quantity of themes, merely referred to without further discussion. However disappointing for the reader, we must not overlook M.D.'s obvious purpose: providing the scientific community with clear, comprehensive and user-friendly standard reference works, rather than with a full account of the mosaics' role in ancient societies. Therefore, the texts are mostly left to speak for themselves, with the aid of an excellent bibliography. The plates, too, are generally of a high quality and well chosen.

This book, exactly like its predecessor, won't probably be much of a help to those who wish to read a discursive introduction to the broad topic of artists' signatures in the Ancient World and their social standing. The scholarly public and all those who need detailed information and a reliable bibliography on inscribed mosaics and their contexts, on the other hand, will surely find both M.D.'s books an invaluable help and a precious reference.

Anna Anguissola

IRENE BRAGANTINI/ROSA DE BONIS/ANCA LEMAIRE/RENAUD ROBERT, *Poseidonia – Paestum V. Les maisons romaines de l'îlot Nord*, Rome: École Française de Rome, 2008. 358 pp., 271 figs; 28 cm (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 42/5). – ISBN 978-2-7283-0803-3.

The book under review is an excellent piece of scholarly work: knowledgeable, accurate, well documented and illustrated, it challenges a number of core issues about the state of research on Hellenistic and Roman housing. Notwithstanding the detailed presentation of buildings, architectural elements, floors, and pottery, the real strength of the volume lies in the broader context that it reconstructs, and in the many theoretical issues it raises.

Its topic is the so-called In n-2 *insula* in Paestum and its houses, all of which show a striking variety in typology, layout, and in the forms of social communication they implied. No reliable records of the excavations led in the southern area of the block (houses A to E) soon after World War 2 exist. Stratigraphic records and recovered pottery are available for the northern part (houses F and G), unearthed between the late 1970s and the early 1980s. Given this profound gap, it is well understandable why the Authors decided to divide the

book into two virtually independent sections, each of them following its own methods and answering to a different set of questions. When lacking reliable stratigraphy and finds, of course, a relative chronology can only be conjectured through comparative indicators such as building techniques and layout. The *corpus* of concrete floors finds a dense network of parallels from Central and Southern Italy, and plays a central role in assessing chronology.

The book aims at providing a whole picture of the area and its role within the urban texture of the Roman town, as well as at reconstructing the micro-history of each house. A key problem is that of identifying the models behind each architectural solution, and explaining why and how indigenous traditions were retained or combined with emerging 'Roman' patterns, affecting their shape and arrangement. To this purpose, the choice of concentrating on a whole block instead of a single house provides a privileged viewpoint: the extension and amalgamation (or, to the other side, the reduction and sale) of neighbouring houses bespeak directly the social capital and expectations of each family. As a real work-in-progress, at every moment of its life a building expresses the living standard of its inhabitants, the social conditioning of the community and the individual taste of its members. These remarks are even more true when considering the strategic location of the block: alongside the *decumanus*, nearby the Forum and at a short distance from the religious centre of the town. Sometimes, of course, it remains unclear whether a larger building, organized around several nuclei, disguises once independent houses. The only viable approach to get over such impasse is to adopt a much wider frame, comparing layouts and arrangements with what attested elsewhere in the same geographical area (particularly in Pompeii and Herculaneum).

The attention with which the Authors constantly compare their context with others, keeping an eye on the larger picture, is what turns this book into much more than just another case-study. Typologies and interpretations developed by scholarly literature (with particular regard, of course, to the reference works by J.-A. Dickmann, A. Wallace-Hadrill, and P. Zanker) are challenged under the light of the Paestan evidence, that often suggests a much more complex reality than our consolidated assumptions allow for. These houses, lacking any wall and ceiling decoration, are preserved, so to say, in a 'purely architectural form': a situation that, however undesirable from an archaeologist's perspective, provides a perfect test-bed to try the ideal schema of a 'prototypical Roman house'. Moreover, further interest arises when considering the history of Paestum, where a Latin colony was founded as early as 273 BC. There, Romanization had an early impact on an ancient civic community, that had already witnessed major social and cultural changes.

As mentioned above, the book is divided into two parts, respectively dealing with the southern and northern areas of the In n-2 *insula*. Their structure and methods vary considerably, owing to the profound divide between the archaeological records. For the first section, where no reliable excavation reports exist, the matter and features of floors play a substantial role. Because of their importance for establishing a chronol-

ogy, floors have been catalogued and discussed separately, following the presentation of each house. If, broadly speaking, it is certainly preferable to find all information on each room in a single paragraph, the choice of addressing floors in individual sections is somewhat inescapable here - and much more appropriate.

The first part, dedicated to the houses A to E and to a few non-residential areas (S I-V), is opened by a brief discussion of building techniques and their chronology. A whole paragraph (pp. 24-27, with a plate at p. 25) deals with thresholds. The interest in these artefacts and in frames is a leitmotiv of the publication: thresholds, doorposts, lintels are direct evidence for the type of shutters they supported and, consequently, for the degree of accessibility between different areas. From this point of view, their value for our understanding of the functional and social dimension of a house is everything but marginal. However obvious these remarks may seem, it has to be mentioned that, to date, the analysis of thresholds and fastenings still remains confined to a handful of commendably detailed case-studies (e.g. the *Häuser in Pompeii* series or the volumes on the *insula* of the Menander at Pompeii, edited by R. Ling) and, as far as my knowledge goes, to a single comprehensive account of Pompeian domestic architecture (J.-A. Dickmann's fundamental book).

The shape and history of houses in this Paestan *insula* is the starting point for a discussion on several long-debated themes. The case of Paestum, compared to an impressive set of parallels drawn from other geographical environments, provides a new reading for topics such as: the emergence and functional structure of *Doppelatriumhäuser* (pp. 72-90), the meaning of terraced porticoes (pp. 138-145), the types of *Dreiraumgruppen* (pp. 144-145), the use of *cenacula* and independent apartments (pp. 145-148), the feature of fences and frames around the peristyle (pp. 193-194), the role of concurring traditions in shaping inner courtyards (pp. 178-188).

As a matter of fact, almost all houses of the block show a striking variety and unconventionality in their inner organization, especially with regards to the layout of the atrium and its relationship with adjoining spaces. The *Domus* A-B was created as *Doppelatriumhaus* around the 1st century BC, through the merging of two neighbouring houses. A large set of parallels from Pompeii attests that a precise content of prestige, luxury and social eminence was attached to the possession of a house with two *atria*. As argued convincingly by Renaud Robert and Anca Lemaire, Dickmann's theory, according to which the emergence of *Doppelatriumhäuser* was tightly connected to the need of building or enlarging a peristyle, should be nuanced and relativized outside Pompeii. The same applies to the view of those who insist on the hierarchy between the two front courtyards, one of which is supposed to have served for reception, the other to host household tasks and the everyday life of the *familia*. When refashioning the houses along the *decumanus* into an impressive palace, a larger space for a rear quarter behind the *atrium* of B was created at the expenses of a third parcel to the north (the so-called *Domus* C), while the layout of A remained more or less intact. Therefore, rather

than fulfil the demand for a peristyle, the choice of a double *atrium* seems to have depended on the wish to imitate the taste for 'multi-polar' homes of a wealthy Roman elite, with a superabundance of residential areas and the repetition of certain clusters. A wish for social prominence and visibility lies at the core of another peculiar arrangement attested in this *insula*: the terraced portico at the eastern end of *Domus* C, most likely built during the 2nd century BC.

Throughout the book, due attention is devoted to the issues of family structure, social interaction and rank. If there is no possibility to identify the proprietors of these houses, sometimes their standing and mutual relation can be conjectured with a certain degree of confidence. The houses A and B, after their merging, were probably inhabited by the same family, who came to own C too. However included into a larger estate, this latter remained virtually independent, likely to have lodged a different familiar group, perhaps related or subject to the former. Again, the north-eastern area of C, with its own entrance from the street and independent water supply, was suited for rent or the use of guests. While the complex formed by the houses A, B, and C provided its inhabitants with a multitude of residential spaces, with a high degree of 'privacy', *Domus* E consisted almost entirely of reception rooms, several of which fully opened towards the courtyards. There, not only two *atria* flank each other on both sides of the block, but each of them is served by its own kitchen, thus enabling the owner to entertain different guests at the same time (or to give frequent banquets without disturbing the everyday life of his family). Therefore, it is likely that a person with particular public duties lived here, who needed to stage the ceremony of hospitality at a larger scale than his neighbours - in relation, of course, to the size of his house. The issue of cultural identity and concurring traditions is better addressed when looking at *Domus* D, built between the late 3rd and the early 2nd centuries BC. The retention of a centripetal organizing pattern of Hellenistic origin is in remarkable contrast with the rest of the *insula*. Well after Paestum had fallen into Rome's orbit, then, the local elite still had a broad variety of patterns among which they could choose for shaping their lavish residences. Notwithstanding subsequent restorations, the overall layout remained roughly the same throughout the life of the building, thus attesting a conscious and explicit reference to the 'old days' and the venerable tradition of the town.

Summarizing the many merits of this book is certainly a difficult task. In *Poseidonia – Paestum* V, the catalogue of spaces, pavements, and finds is clear and accurate: the readers will meet with no difficulty in finding all required information. The choice of presenting and discussing an area after the other within the same house helps focusing on the general questions that each nucleus puts. Regrettably, the Authors could not include a full survey of water supplies, unavailable for inspection and deeply compromised (see p. 17). A clearer idea of how the piping system worked throughout the block would probably bring a decisive contribution to some of the problems raised by layout and architecture.

Inferences about chronology and architectural pat-

terns are constantly drawn from a wide and fitting choice of parallels. When required, all reasonable assumptions are presented and weighed against each other, confronted with the available evidence from other geographical areas. This volume advances substantially our knowledge of Roman housing, both through the impeccable publication of a relevant context and discussing a broad set of general issues within a comparative perspective. All in all, the book is thoroughly recommended to scholars interested in Hellenistic and Roman housing and urban development - a title that can hardly be missing from the shelves of any department's library.

Anna Anguissola

MARIA XAGORARI-GLEIßNER, *Meter Theon. Die Göttermutter bei den Griechen*. Ruppolding/Mainz: Verlag Philipp Rutzen, 2008. 175 pp., 51 figs; 24.5 cm (Peleus. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Griechenlands und Zypern 40) – ISBN 978-3-447-05986-2.

In her discussion of Meter Theon, Xagorari-Gleißner's goal is to outline the profile of this goddess by the Greeks in historical times and to examine her in the context of Greek religion and culture. The author takes into account her connections with Minoan and Mycenaean mother deities, which just like later influences from Anatolia, played a formative role in the iconography and cult of the goddess. The main focus lies on the never investigated context in places of worship, which generally deviates from the typical form of the peripteros temple.

In chapter 1 Xagorari-Gleißner examines the gender and common status of the priests of Meter Theon. The second part of this chapter should examine whether the feasts in honour of the goddess depend on local traditions, but here Xagorari makes an error by giving a history of literature about Kybele and Rhea. It is in chapter 5 only that the priest class, feasts and participants are examined. Furthermore she mentions Welcker who called Zeus a spring god, but the argumentation is lacking (p. 9). However, Welcker himself gave no explanation for his statement about Zeus. Therefore the author takes a risk in copying an argument without argumentation.

In chapter 2 Xagorari reviews the literary sources, with attention for mythology and historiography. She sketches the mythology about the birth of Zeus and the role of Rhea as his protectress. Rhea places a stone before Kronos, so that he does not get a chance to eat Zeus out of fear of overthrowing him. Here she makes a comparison between Greek mythology and that of the Hittite Kumarbi, Tamisu and Teshub. Then, suddenly, Kubaba appears, although Xagorari states that Kubaba plays no role in Hittite mythology. She is only mentioned because one of her sacred animals is the lion, just like Kybele's. Furthermore Kubaba was first a city goddess, but later took the role as a sun goddess from Arinna. The author also argues that Kybele is to be assimilated with Demeter, Aphrodite, Artemis, Hekate, Dea Syria, Gaia and Isis, but a plausible argumentation is lacking. Strangely enough Agdistis, who

is a hermaphrodite, is an epithet of Kybele and Rhea, which is odd because Agdistis is born out of Zeus and Kubaba. The purpose of this assimilation remains unclear.

In chapter 3 the historical context of the mother goddesses is discussed. This overview ranges from the Venus of Willendorf to Greek goddesses like Gaia and Kybele. The author states that a cult continuity should be assumed, although there is no proof to corroborate this thesis. The better word here would be 'plausible', given the descriptions of the cult and its development. Furthermore, the author speaks about pre-Greek goddesses such as Diktynna, Britomartis, Aglauros, Aphaia and Ariadne. Here Xagorari forgets the myth according to which Britomartis was a maiden pursued by the Minoan King Minos for nine months, until she threw herself into the sea and was saved in the nets of some fishermen. Afterwards she was called Diktynna - a name whose resemblance to Mount Dikte on which Zeus was born cannot be coincidental. Diktynna was the goddess of the nets, since *diktyon* means net. Concerning Ariadne there could be discussion about her pre-Greek status, since she is viewed as a Greek goddess of vegetation, possibly derived from an unnamed Minoan goddess on Crete. According to Homer and Hesiod she was the daughter of Minos and consort of Dionysos (M. Jordan, *Encyclopedia of gods. Over 2,500 deities of the world*, London 1992, 22). In answer to the question whether multiple gods or one goddess in multiple appearances is being honoured, A. Baring and J. Cashford (*The Myth of the Goddess. Evolution of an image*, London 1991, 40, 73, 105, 118-120, 497-501, 522-525, 576-578) state that civilisations in Europe and Southwest-Asia during the 7th millennium BC needed new mythological aspects, which made it possible that the Great Goddess appeared in as many forms as Goddess of Fertility, Goddess of Grain, Snake Goddess, Fish Goddess, and as Butterfly or Bee Goddess. This did not threaten her ancient maternal power including her functions.

In respect to the question whether the Mother Goddess and fertility goddesses are accompanied and suppressed by male gods, Baring and Cashford (*ibidem*, 660-661) give a clearer answer, stating that the Great Mother Goddess alone gives birth to the world out of herself, so that all creatures, including the gods, are her children, and part of her divine substance. Thereafter, the Mother Goddess unites with the god - once her son, now her consort - to give birth to the world. Here a distinction is made between the eternal womb and its temporary phases, and the focus of the myth is on the relationship between the Mother Goddess and the god, her 'son-lover'. In the next stage the Mother Goddess is killed by the god, her great-great grandson, who then creates the world out of her dead body, and the human race from the blood of her dismembered son-lover. This was the late Bronze and early Iron Age Babylonian myth of Tiamat, the mother goddess whose corpse was torn apart and spread into earth and heaven by the superior wind- and fire-power of the sky- and sun-god Marduk.

Chapter 4 treats the iconography of the mother goddess, from the sitting position to the panthers and reverence of goddesses in other regions. The first Kybele

naiskoi appear around 600 BC, whereas there were images of the goddess as early as the Mycenaean age.

Chapter 5 focuses on the cult of the mother goddess of the Greeks. First, the author examines the priests. Men and women could take the role of priest; the men were often castrated. The significance of this part escapes me when reading the goal of this chapter: first feasts in other regions and second the followers of the mother goddess. I would say that the followers are the most important persons, so that this part of the research could show *where* these followers were coming from. Then it is possible to give a geographic frame within which the cult of the mother goddess could exist.

Chapter 6 discusses the places of worship. This sublime overview speaks for itself and is probably the best part of the book. The main places of worship are listed, and the structure of the *metroa* is another important part of this chapter.

In Chapter 7 the results are presented. Xagorari concludes that the cult of the mother was not as popular as those of other Greek mother goddesses. This conclusion is to be contested. My main objection in this respect is that throughout this book the author states that the mother goddess appeared in many different forms like Rhea, etc. (see above). These were not unimportant goddesses in the ancient Greek world. Therefore, Xagorari's conclusion should be adjusted in a way that there is more interest in other Greek mother goddesses.

Chapter 8 is a summary of the book, while Chapter 9 contains the catalogue of *metroa*.

As a contribution to our conceptions of ancient Greek religion, and even the centrality of the role of mother goddesses by the ancient Greeks, *Meter Theon* promises more than it delivers. But that does not detract from the immense value of the contribution as a whole, or from the simple pleasure of reading it: Xagorari's is a seductive book.

Mark Beumer

ALEXANDRE G. MITCHELL, *Greek Vase-painting and the Origins of Visual Humour*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. xxiii+371 pp., 143 ills; 26 cm. – ISBN 978-0-521-51370-8.

I have always felt that: to explain a joke, is to kill it. But the appearance of this book on humour is very welcome: its subject is delightful and has so far not been treated in a solid discussion. I have always wondered how that could be, for Greek literature and painting abound in witty fancies.

The book under review is a very serious and extensive study both of the material and of the countless theories that have been proposed from the early Greek period down to modern times. It deals with all kind of aspects, and ventures even on the subtle relationship between humour and democracy. Its main aim is 'to penetrate one step further into the Greek psyche' (p. xvii-xviii). The material discussed is vast as can be judged by leafing through the indexes. Astonishingly extensive is the general index in which the subjects are enumerated: it occupies no less than 14 pages of two columns. To give an example: the entries for satyrs alone contain 64 different themes! Besides, there are

thirteen Tables in which the comical scenes are arranged under various headings. Table 1, p. 8, lists different kinds of laughter (e.g., non-euphoric, euphoric), Table 2, p. 9, lists the various theories and the anthropological approach of humour and laughter. Tables 3-4, p. 281, list the shapes of the vases with comic scenes. Table 5, p. 282, gives the various types of humour and the number of vases on which they appear. Tables 6a-c, pp. 283-295, contain the painters of the comic vases and the scenes in question, with the number of vases cited. Many times mentioned are, for example, the return of Hephaestus and scenes of Heracles frightening Eurystheus into the pithos. On Tables 7-10, pp. 307-309, we find satyrs in parodies of everyday life and myths: e.g. gluttony, caricature, scatology, satyrs as wine makers, as warriors, in mock-heroism and the like. We must be grateful for the completeness with which Greek (mainly Attic) humouristic vases have been collected and discussed.

Greek humour is mainly explained as referring to *to geloion* (it is one of the flaws of the book that Greek expressions are quoted in nearly impossible Latin transcriptions, e.g., p. 67). However, humour is so vague a word that it cannot be summed up in a definition: obviously this word or concept lacks a clear-cut meaning: it simply denotes all situations in which we are amused, or pleasantly tickled to smiling, to chuckling, or even to outright laughter. The urge to analyse these psychological reactions and proffer definitions may be philosophically interesting but makes most books on humour much duller than expected; fortunately, this is not the case with the present book: it contains a wealth of information and is rich in interest.

The illustrations, however, which should have been a joy for the eye, are downright shocking, both the photographs and the drawings (vectorised, see p. xviii). It is to be regretted that in our time such abominable illustrations are printed in a fine study - after the perfect publications of Greek vases since the great plates of Furtwängler-Reichhold more than a century ago and the impeccable plates of such volumes as published by Arias-Hirmer, and in spite of the technical perfection that can be achieved nowadays.

Apart from this surprising defect, one or two other slight criticisms may here perhaps be proffered. More emphasis might have been laid on the light-hearted playfulness of some painters, their whim to add tiny details to arouse a faint smile on our face, for example when the Euergides Painter depicts a dog that scratches its neck energetically while clearly enjoying its effect (ARV 96, 136, coll. Beazley: there is a distinct smile on its face). Or the way in which the Andokides Painter makes light of the deeds of Heracles when he shows him crouching to approach Cerberus with a big chain and with soothing sounds and a smiling face so as to put the monster at ease (Cerberus looks baffled, clearly not knowing what to think: ARV 4.11), or when Heracles hoists the Nemean lion over his head in what is known as the 'flying mare', a trick of the wrestling school that is perfectly harmless for the opponent (ARV 4.8). Such obvious details, which are truly innumerable on Greek vases, do not, I believe, belong to the realm of *to geloion*, but to something more subtle, less easily caught in a single term.

In this connection it is surprising that there is no mention of the Caeretan hydriae with their countless witty details and scenes: only one hydria is shown, Fig. 61, p. 136, but its interpretation is defective: the three figures shown are, from left to right, Apollo, Maia and her legitimate husband Atlas, while baby Hermes in swaddling-clothes is pretending to sleep (but with eyes wide open), stretched out on top of what seems a faithful picture of a modern tea-trolley on wheels.

There are, of course, more points on which the reader may disagree. Sometimes the dating seems questionable (figs 36, 42, 61, 79, 92, 99). It is a mistake to tell the reader that the inscription *Nikosthenes epoiesen* in fig. 81 is (a comic) part of the scene of two dancing men, in which it is written: the painter has the habit to place these inscriptions ruthlessly in very unlikely spots: see Tosto pls 85-89: the comment under fig. 81 is, therefore, misleading.

It should also be added that, in places, the style of writing is cumbersome. For example it is said that satyrs often 'despoil the usual iconography and become a translation agent between different categories of representation' (p. 165-166); this refers to details such as the satyr who holds on to the eyebrow of an ornamental eye of an eye-cup (fig. 80).

But in spite of such objections the book is an important standard work that will surely be much consulted in future.

[Incidentally, the author refers to the Museum Scheurleer in the Hague (p. 120, n. 83), but that museum closed in 1934, after which its collection formed the nucleus of the Allard Pierson Museum, the Archaeological Museum of the University of Amsterdam.]

J.M. Hemelrijk

Contrôle et distribution de l'eau dans le Maghreb antique et médiéval. Rome: École Française de Rome, 2009. 294 pp., colour and b/w figs; 24 cm (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 426). – ISBN 978-2-7283-0797-5.

This book is a collection of papers which were presented in March 2002 in Tunisia. It does not cover the whole region of North Africa, but rather gives a rich overview of specific areas and presents case studies in Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. The articles consider the periods from the (pre) Roman to the medieval time and refer to both archaeological remains and textual sources. They discuss issues related to the collecting and transporting of water and the applications of water for industrial installations and pleasure devices. These papers open the discussion on water organisation in the Maghreb in North Africa and address some general problems of water facilities, the dating of archaeological evidence and the continuous reuse of water facilities through time.

It is interesting that all articles in this volume share a number of common ideas. One would think that most parts of North Africa are desert and extremely harsh to live in, but from reading all articles together it becomes clear that the region had plenty of water. The people who lived in these arid regions learned how to deal with water management problems and used their local

knowledge of such things as soil types and groundwater to exploit the environment where they lived and to develop their own techniques to collect water for their survival and use.

By building weirs, low dams, the runoff water from the hills and valleys was collected. A technique for preventing water loss through evaporation and absorption was to build underground tunnels, known locally as *foggaras*. *Foggaras* are found all-over North Africa, with the largest concentration in the Libyan Sahara. Different authors discuss how these techniques were introduced and spread into North Africa, either by diffusion from adjacent areas of use or by immigrants. Some articles focus on the role of the local people.

Some authors deal with a large area (i.e. North Morocco), while others refer to one specific location in more detail. In North Morocco sites were surveyed and water management, entrapment and use are described. Such studies shed new light on water management methods because water was not always used for agriculture but in some places water served industrial purposes such as to salt fish.

Three detailed studies relate to the city of Carthage in Tunisia. The first refers to specific studies on water tanks with details and analysis in order to position the layers of the archaeological remains. The second refers to a study on a large number of public and private baths which depended for their water supply on an extensive network of aqueducts, cisterns and other hydraulic devices. The third study describes the Zaghuan *nymphaeum* by researching the architectural material, decorated pieces and excavated pottery. This gives more information about the characteristics of the construction and give a realistic date of the *nymphaeum* in Carthage to be the beginning of the 3rd century A.D.

An interesting discussion regarding a site called Rusazus (modern Azeffoun) in Algeria describes a special system where a number of different techniques was used to convey water from a spring to the city. These techniques included an aqueduct, a canal, a siphon and a filter station before the water was delivered to storage tanks and baths.

A number of studies discuss textual sources; these concern the constructing of aqueducts and baths, Arabic documentations of hydraulic work in the Middle Ages and many poems dealing with bathing in Tunisia. Together, these studies illustrate that there was a great awareness about bathing, health and water management in the Maghreb, as can also be seen from the lavishness of the archaeological, epigraphic and literary evidence. One of the interesting parts of the textual studies is the discussion that the authors initiate by analysing and (re)interpreting texts, and their attempt to compare this with archaeological evidence.

This book provides not only a scholarly analysis of hydraulic issues, rather it gives a new insight in and easy access to the archaeology and ancient societies of North Africa, with photos and drawings in each case study. It provides a well-documented archaeological work, even for those who are only interested in Arabic language, or even for readers who are not archaeologists or specialists in the topics but interested in legendary stories from local people concerning water. A general introduction is unfortunately lacking, and so is

an illustrated map of North Africa, but the summaries at the end of the book give a clear overview.

Almost all of the papers address the problem of dating the water facilities. Since these water facilities were used for long periods of time and were often maintained, repaired and reused, it is difficult to clearly define the building dates. Such studies considered in one book give us an excellent set of observations on the organization, distribution, and historical development of water management in North Africa. It also offers us a view of sites and the relationship between the local people, its environment and water usage. Overall this book gives the reader a comprehensive insight into the archaeological aspects of North African techniques of water technology, control and distribution.

Sufyan Al Karaimeh

NANCY A. WINTER, *Symbols of Wealth and Power. Architectural Terracotta Decoration in Etruria & Central Italy, 640-510 B.C.* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2009. 651 pp., lii, 285 figs, 213 pls; 27.8 cm (Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, Supplementary Volume IX). – ISBN 978-0-472-11665-2.

In the past half century, the pre-Roman archaeology of Central Italy has been enriched in a remarkable manner. Following the unprecedented growth of the capital and fighting an uncompromising battle against art crime, the archaeological knowledge of the Roman *campagna*, here broadly understood as the entire central-western portion of the peninsula, has increased manifold. Evidence of both domestic and religious architecture in an astonishing variety of terracotta roof fragments has come to light in scores of sites ranging from Siena in the North to Latina in the South. Yet the many rescue dig accounts, regular excavation reports, international congress proceedings ('*Archeologia Laziale*', '*Deliciae Fictiles*'), and both themed and general exhibition catalogues available since the 1960s cannot obliterate the absence of a unifying discourse making sense of the myriad of observations, local histories and scientific idiosyncrasies so characteristic of this field of studies. With the publication of this book, Nancy Winter has filled in that gap.

The book's lofty title alludes to iconography, politics and historical contexts which is the one thing that it leaves aside. Instead it deals in a quite factual manner with the remains of about one hundred terracotta roofs from some twenty-five sites, arranged chronologically in seven major roof types. These cover the period between 640 and 510 BC, i.e. from the introduction of terracotta roofing, with a clearly regional Central Italic imprint, up until the adoption of a more general, less localized *koinè* known as the 'Second Phase', as proposed in the 1918 Villa Giulia Museum catalogue by A. Della Seta and still valid to many.

The main roof types presented in the book are described in each chapter, first, as underlying concrete roofs found in particular sites, which are then taken apart in their constituent members, such as *simas* (raking and lateral), *antefixes*, *revetment plaques*, *acroteria*

and *tiles* (pan, cover, ridge). Of all roof types full graphical reconstructions are given, and all members are illustrated by scale drawings and, whenever needed and possible, small photographs. The evidence is backed up by full bibliographical references - more than a thousand sources are quoted. Each chapter closes with a short conclusion. After a brief excursion on technique and manufacturing, a very handy topographical synthesis is offered where the previous, detailed observations on roofs and buildings are brought together in more comprehensive accounts, arranged per city. The concluding chapter deals with analytical observations on architecture, the positioning of the various decorative members, the evolution of motives and mouldings, and, finally, some historical remarks. After a choice of indices, of museums (including all and full inventory numbers), ancient authors, proper names, place names and subjects, the volume closes with groundplans, wherever available, of all the buildings the hundred or so roofs can be attributed to, as well as colour reconstructions of pediments and eaves of some of the roofs.

To help readers appreciate the ramifications of the enterprise: among the roofs treated in this volume are the famous, late 7th/early 6th-century decorated roofs from Murlo and Acquarossa (that were all published, not so much haphazardly as rather in a less than coordinated fashion); the quixotic Minotaur-frieze roof from the Roman Forum; the Veii-Rome-Velletri roofs that so elegantly illustrate the concept of itinerant workshops (to which now a variant Rome-Capriccio can be added); the roofs from the Roman Mater Matuta temples at the church of Sant' Omobono; and the Ionicizing-Etruscan roof at Latin Satricum, of which now a full-fledged, 'provenance unknown' predecessor from Caere has been ascertained in the storerooms of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek at Copenhagen. Thanks to Winter's exemplary work, all these buildings are now set in contexts which, sadly perhaps, contradict their uniqueness but, happily, makes them infinitely more understandable. Perhaps the most enriching aspect of this publication is the fact that architectural terracottas are no longer considered and presented in isolation but as parts of comprehensive endeavours, of 'roof systems' - to my knowledge here done for the first time in a consistent manner.

The author entered archaeology 35 years ago with a PhD on terracotta representations of human heads in Italic Archaic architectural decoration (reworked as an article in *RM* 85, 1978, 27-58). Precisely halfway, she published a seminal handbook on *Greek architectural terracottas* up until the Classical period (Oxford 1993). Students of Italic pre-Roman history can now reap the fruits of her having combined the position of librarian of the American Institute at Athens with that of a terracotta specialist visiting nearly all the world's museums' storerooms to find solutions to the many riddles ancient roofs pose. The result is a meticulously curated presentation of the stunning richness of pre-Roman terracotta roofs, nearly the only evidence of an exciting period of experiment in a budding society - out of which one city would arise that by its sheer dominance seems to have stifled an almost 'baroque' diversity that previously existed. These experiments, it now appears,

were both technical and formal, both in design and in execution. It is the great merit of Ms. Winter's effort that practically all and everything in this field has been brought together in a rational, clear, uniform and precise manner. In addition, many minor but anything but superfluous questions are being settled in the over 1,500 footnotes. I was not able to find any printing or reference mistake, which for the sheer repertorium this book is, is no less than astonishing. For its encyclopaedic character it will no doubt have a future on a par with Arvid Andrén's *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples* (1940). The fact that the author refrained from entering the slippery area of iconography and social interpretation makes this work even more valuable, since however these interpretations may waver, which they did especially in the sometimes overly political Italian archaeological arena, at the same time they kept lacking sufficiently accessible facts some of us still deem indispensable to base them on.

This said, there are some critical remarks to be made. Some of them are mere details, such as several instances of less than happy nomenclature (the "depth" of a cover-tile may be correct but is less clear than 'length', *passim*; 'two painted black triangles' is perhaps better expressed as 'a painted hourglass motif' on p. 214); some awkward details in the drawings (missing elements in reconstructions rendered in solid lines in ch. 6; wrongly positioned cover-tiles on p. 402; lack of evidence for the revetment plate 6.D.1.a. on p. 446); and a constructional less likely solution (the overhang of raking simas over raking revetment plaques should be minimal to prevent breaking or flipping, pp. 399, 401). Others, however, give rise to major doubts. Besides the lack of an explicit theoretical framework, which would have made Winter's enterprise both more accessible and discussable, I hesitate to accept the proposed phasing in its entirety. Given the need to organise the material along chronological lines, and given the likelihood that real-life workshops (in various forms) consecutively carried out commissions in a sequence of places, it is logical to assume some distinct (here: seven) types of roofs ('systems') that were produced over two generations in an area 240 km of length. Yet to define such systems entirely in chronological terms perhaps does historical events less than full justice. Contemporaneity should then be avoided, leading to the need of assuming 'precursors' in one system (or stage) for events in another (p. 227), or of hybrids (p. 224). Most disquieting it was to find Winter assign the typical eaves-tile lotus/palmette motif ('painted half-lotus flowers flanking a palmette') to roofs dated 580-540 BC (4.F.4.c., p. 303f), but also on Veii-Rome-Velletri lateral simas (5.B.2.A, p. 339) from c. 530, and finally on later eaves-tile soffits from, i.a., Satricum and Caere (6.F.2.A, p. 483). Exterior stylistic comparison should have warned the author that the motif is closely bound up with Pontic, Caeretan hydriae and North-Ionian cups all dating to the third quarter. A further chronological subdivision is not possible.

A similar haziness characterizes the end of the 'First Phase'. I have suggested elsewhere that in Central Italy, the architectural experiences in the Campanian area may well have led to adopting the different protective decoration modes known as the Second Phase. Trying

to explain that technical and stylistic break purely from within the First Phase-tradition leads to awkward positions. The widely debated Palestrina raking sima (5.A.3.b, p. 336) with First Phase relief scene in a Second Phase format is an archaism, not a transitional piece from ca 510-500. The morphology of the piece is fully-fledged 5th-century. The author wavers somewhat since she admits as much in the conclusive paragraph (p. 393). The same goes for the one instance of an anthemion plaque (6.D.5, p. 463); it is attributed to a Roof 6 system on the hypothetical association with an antefix and a sima (note 174), but its format is vintage Second Phase, deriving its logic from Campanian forerunners, and its occurrence here is anachronistic to say the least. The unique column/mutulus plaques (6.D.6, p. 463f) are likewise suspect in a pre-Second Phase system. The author admits as much (note 176: 'suggesting, perhaps correctly, that these were later additions to the roof at the end of the 6th century BC.'), but further on does not retain this nuance (p. 493).

To end on a positive note: the importance of this study on the wealth of roof evidence of Archaic Central-Italy cannot be overestimated. A true treasure trove for many generations to come.

Riemer R. Knoop

TOBIAS FISCHER-HANSEN/BIRTE POULSEN (eds), *From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of Man and Beast*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2009. 585 pp., figs (some color); 24.5 cm (Acta Hyperborea 12), – ISBN 978-87-635-0788-2/ISSN 0904-2067.

This issue of *Acta Hyperborea* publishes papers associated with a conference on Artemis held in Copenhagen in 2005; indices of literary and epigraphic sources, names and sites make them even more useful. The journal's regular 'Forum' section records Danish fieldwork, reviews and an intriguing article by A.-F. Alexandridou (pp. 497-522) examining early funerary offering rituals in Vari and the Athenian Kerameikos.

The Artemis papers, intended to build upon Martin Nilsson's 1925 *History of Greek Religion*, present authors' excavations (especially Danish projects) and research on topics of current interest (see editors' introduction pp. 11-17). So we find specific sites and objects, from Italy to the Black Sea, treated in fine detail, although this is not intended as an all-encompassing reference.

On the question of 'origins', Marie Louise Nosch examines Linear B evidence for Artemis and/or the *Potnia Theron*, 'mistress of wild beasts', in Late Bronze Age Greece. Only at Delos and Kalapodi is there evidence of votive goods or sacrifices (including bears, lions, turtles). Two, possibly three, Pylos tablets name *a-te-mi-to* (and her slave); others name different *po-ti-ni-ja*, but none are 'theron', and only at *Iliad* 21.470 is Artemis herself so named. Bodil Hjerrild presents Near Eastern equivalents: Anatolian Kybele and Iranian/Zoroastrian Anahita, the 'glorified virgin' patron of the wild and war, popular well into the Roman Empire.

Minna Skaftte Jensen surveys Artemis in Homeric literature, noting allusions to choral music and dance in

addition to the usual hunt, death, protection, etc. Jørgen Mejer's review of the many Athenian shrines of Artemis makes use of tragedy and other literature in estimating the appearance of Classical cults. Using vase paintings and archaeological evidence at Brauron, Inge Nielsen reconstructs rituals from late 6th century on: banqueting, races, dances, burnt sacrifices and priests wearing bear masks. She suggests that many activities, such as girls racing nude, represent private rituals rather than public holidays. Birte Lundgreen revisits a marble head (Arktos or Eros?) acquired from Brauron by Furtwängler and now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

In the Greek sphere, another sanctuary was Artemis Lauria at Kalydon, revisited in Danish fieldwork (S. Dietz, pp. 523-531). J. Mejer presents an altar dedicated there by a Thrason of possible Hellenistic date. Ditte Zink Kaasgaard Falb surveys offerings in the Spartan Orthia sanctuary (lead miniatures, grotesque masks) to demonstrate that Artemis had been syncretized with Orthia by the 6th century BC (rather than the Roman Imperial period). Synnøve des Bouvrie turns to Levantine sources for the more bizarre facets of Orthia cult, noting their frequent post-Achaic re-invention and modern ethnographic analogies.

In other Mediterranean cultures, Artemis cults tend to diverge from what we might predict. In Cyprus, few sites are identified from inscriptions or votive sculpture (Lone Wriedt Sørensen). Greek colonial regions show varied identities. Pia Guldager Bilde advocates the approach of quantifying literary and epigraphic evidence (epithets), maintaining that the cult spread to Black Sea colonies from Miletus and Megara Nisaia, and increased dramatically in the Mithridatic period. Luis Ballesteros-Pastor, analyzing the sanctuary at Themiscyra, suggests that the 'palace of the Amazons' and even later defenders' use of wild beasts against Lucullus may derive from the temple and cult of Artemis there (cf. Adrienne Mayor, *Greek Fire, Poison Arrows & Scorpion Bombs: Biological and Chemical Warfare in the Ancient World*, New York, 2009, chapter 6).

Tobias Fisher-Hansen sees strong cultic links between the colonies of the Black Sea, South Italy and Sicily, where Artemis worship became a hallmark of the proud hellenization of native centers.

Marjatta Nielsen and Annette Rathje survey the un-Greek identity of 'Artumes' in Etruria and offer several speculative interpretations, seeing an Iron Age Artemis cult in antler slices deposited at the Tarquinian Pian di Civita site, and possible terracotta deer in the Ara della Regina's pediment. They likewise consider the Etruscan cult of Tiur/Moon as Artemis.

The most striking Roman center was the shrine at Lake Nemi, to which Mette Moltesen restores a terracotta Late Republican temple pediment excavated in 1885 and dispersed to Boston and Nottingham. (See Erika B. Harnett in K.J. Hartswick/M.C. Sturgeon, eds, *ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ: Studies in Honor of Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway*, Philadelphia, 1998, 101-104, note 19, for a contemporary terracotta pediment from Minturnae.) For stone sculpture from Nemi, see also Irene Bald Romano, *Classical Sculpture. Catalogue of the Cypriot, Greek, and Roman Stone Sculpture in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Philadelphia, 2006) 72-161.

Jesper Carlsen surveys the sparse evidence for Late Republican Romans (occasionally the Domitii Ahenobarbi) in Artemis sanctuaries at Samos, Ephesus and Delos. Rubina Raja presents the splendid Antonine temple at Gerasa and a Flavian-era predecessor (also Artemis Tyche on Hadrianic coinage).

Birte Poulsen restores to late Roman hunt images their underlying associations with Artemis cult; mosaics, frescoes, and textiles depict shrines of Diana, and many sanctuaries were anchored to hunting preserves. In late antiquity, Diana retained her healing aspect, identified by Niels Hannestad within the indigenous Bad Bertrich spa cult on the evidence of a statuette from a workshop of Christian sarcophagi.

Marjatta Nielsen, in a wonderfully illustrated analysis, explains the misunderstanding, beginning with Rafael, of the pectoral ornament of Ephesian Diana as 'Multimammia' (replicas do not predate the Trajanic period.) She agrees with Seiterle's identification of the bulges as bulls' scrota; for other explanations, see L.R. LiDonnici, *Harvard Theological Review* 85.4 (1992) 389-415; A. Bammer, *Anatolian Studies* 40 (1990) 137-160 (8th-century amber pendants). The projection of different values and meanings onto Renaissance and Neo-Classical portrayals of the statue should, in Nielsen's words (p. 487), 'give a hint of how ancient gods and myths were able to transform themselves when still "alive", by being given shifting competences, while spreading from one area to another, through numerous channels of contact.' These papers offer fresh examples of just such processes.

Jean MacIntosh Turfa

ADA COHEN/JEREMY B. RUTTER (eds), *Constructions of childhood in ancient Greece and Italy*. Princeton, N.J.: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2007. 429 pp., figs, 28 cm (Hesperia Supplement 41). – ISBN 978-0-87661-541-6.

Though there are several monographs on childhood in the Greek and Roman world, many aspects have not yet been dealt with. Books on Minoan, Mycenaean, Etruscan, and Italic children are still lacking. The impressive collection of impeccably edited and illustrated papers of a childhood conference at Dartmouth College in 2003, organized in the context of the exhibition 'Coming of Age in Ancient Greece' in the local museum, certainly fills some gaps in this immense and difficult field of research. The sequence of twenty very readable papers of high quality is thematic, placed under seven headings: families, socialisation and enculturation, rituals and life transitions, gender and representation, burial, commemoration, and childhood and the classical tradition.

Cohen's introduction does not summarize the papers but presents an essay on childhood between past and present, paying attention to former scholarship. She rejects Philippe Aries's idea, presented in his *Centuries of childhood* (1962), that childhood in antiquity was not conceived as a separate stage of life. Further she adds interesting observations on Greek and Roman children and their birds in figurative art.

The other archaeological contributions focus on children in classical Attic votive reliefs (C.L. Lawton), parenthood in official Roman art (J. Diddle Uzzi), immature gestures in Attic vase painting (T.J.M. McNiven), education on late antique mosaics (C.A. Marinescu et al.), votive terracottas and the welfare of infants at Paestum (R. Miller Ammerman), the personification of *Komos* growing up among satyrs and children (A.C. Smith), art and maturation in early Greece (S. Langdon), girls as acolytes in Aegean ritual and cult (P. Rehak †), youth and gender identity in the frescoes of Thera (A.P. Chapin), boys, girls, and abduction in ancient Greek art (A. Cohen), mortuary programs at Tarquinia as indicators of the transition to adult status (M.J. Becker), the bio-archaeological record in the classical *polis* (A. Lagia), children on classical Attic funerary moments (J. Burnett Grossman), childhood on Roman funerary memorials (J. Huskinson), Roman circus sarcophagi and the commemoration of children (E. d'Ambra), and Eros and the lizard: children, animals, and Roman funerary sculpture (J. Sorabella).

The chapters based on historical sources cast light upon the parental ethos of the *Iliad*, i.e. their care for children (L. Pratt), a curriculum for raising a 4th-century Christian infant (Ph.B. Katz), female transitions to adulthood in late antiquity (L.A. Alberici and M. Harlow), and romantic constructions of childhood and Hellenistic poetry (A. Ambühl).

I summarize some of the results of the archaeological research, in the shortest possible way. Lawton shows that, though inscriptions on Attic votive reliefs do not mention children, the latter nevertheless play an important role in the religious rituals of a family. At least four stages of childhood (babies, toddlers, pre- and pubescent juveniles) are visible. In a similar way McNiven distinguishes different age groups by analyzing non-adult gestures. Girls keep them, boys gradually imitate adult ones. Diddle Uzzi shows that, generally, in Roman elite art children appear with their fathers, and non-Roman children with their mothers. Marinescu *cum suis* deals with 15 colourful, inscribed, 5th-century AD floor mosaic panels of unknown origin which show life stages of a certain Kimbros: the infancy, the time at the 'basic' school and the time at the 'high' school. Ammerman analyzes votive terracottas, especially *kourotrophoi*, found in four sanctuaries in and just outside Poseidonia, and in the Heraion of Foce del Sele. She carefully analyzes the transition from the Greek to the Lucanian period. Smith pays attention to *Komos* on 18 Attic vases; first *Komos* is a satyr, later a boy on ritual *choes*, during the Peloponnesian war, maybe symbolizing the promise of life and citizenship. Langdon holds that Greek geometric art associates boys with heroic fighting, and girls with marriage. Rehak stresses the importance of girls' dress in Aegean cults. Chapin shows successive life stages of nude boys on Thera frescoes: first they are boxing, later on they are fishing. Cohen concludes that abducted girls are rendered as mature women in Greek art in order to obscure the real age difference between men and women in marriages. Grossman studies the idealized appearance of children on Attic grave monuments. Here, they are mentioned in inscriptions. Boys are rendered nude, girls are dressed. Children's portraits on Roman tombs,

funerary altars, and sarcophagi are sometimes idealized too, as Huskinson shows. D'Ambra interprets *Erotes* in circus scenes as a kind of consolation: a triumph over death. *Defixiones* with children's names were supposed to influence real races. Sorabella proves that sleeping *Erotes*, symbols of innocence, keep, like Roman children, lizards as protective, domestic animals.

This succinct survey shows that the topics hardly overlap. They give an interesting but rather kaleidoscopic view of many aspects of childhood in the Mediterranean, from ca 2000 BC until ca 500 AD. The title of the collection suggests constructions of childhood. Agency or agents in these processes, however, can hardly be found or defined. Probably due to the absence of central research questions (cf. J.B. Rutter's preface on foci, pp. xxi-xxii), there is no general evaluation. The reader will note that phenomena like the age of transition from child to adult, ritual roles of children, education, the experience of child loss are time-, culture, society-, status- or even place bound. In addition, the archaeological, literary and epigraphic data are not always compatible as is often the case in classical archaeology. Some chapters generate new questions. Becker's study, for example, shows that also after ca 700 BC neonates and children up to the age of 5.5 years at Tarquinia must have been buried in separate areas outside cemeteries for older children and adults as happened later, elsewhere in southern Etruria. Does this 'mortuary program' really show the transition to adult status as the title of Becker's paper suggests or should we rather conclude that an infant younger than 5.5 years was not considered to be a *persona*, member of a community? Maybe, the age limit is rather related to weaning (cf. S. Crawford-Brown, *Votive Children in Cyprus and Italy, Etruscan News* 12, 2010, 5 and 31; also online). Lagia's bio-archaeological research in Greek *poleis* proves that generalisations cannot easily be made. This holds good for the whole book.

All references, combined in one bibliography, and a rather good index, make consultation easy. In my opinion, a chronological order of chapters would have been better as several contributions deal with more than one theme. Those who are interested in childhood can also use the very recent books: A. Backe-Dahmen, *Die Welt der Kinder in der Antike* (2008) and M.C. Crelier, *Kinder im Athen des 5. Jhs v. Chr. Aspekte der gesellschaftlichen Wahrnehmung des kleinen Kindes in der athenischen Polis des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. im Spiegel archäologischer Quellen* (2008).

L.B. van der Meer

BERYL BARR-SHARRAR, *The Derveni Krater. Masterpiece of Classical Greek Metalwork*. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2008. 239 pp., 168 b/w figs, 32 colour pls, 30 cm (Ancient Art and Architecture in Context 1). – ISBN 978-0-87661-962-9.

This lavishly illustrated book is dedicated to one of the most famous and most problematic bronze vessels, the 90.5 cm high volute krater with a sieve-lid, topped by a gold wreath, and wrapped or covered in a shroud and used as an urn for the burnt bones of a man and a

woman, found in the untouched, large cist grave B (with paintings) at Derveni, 12 km to the north of Thessaloniki, in 1962. The bones had been wrapped in purple cloth. Some details partly suggest a Homeric, heroic tradition of cremation (cf. pp. 28, 30, 46, 182), also known from Vergina tomb II.

The nine chapters deal with metal vessels in Macedonian history, the seven Derveni tombs, the krater itself, its precursors, elaborate volute kraters of ca 400 BC, relief friezes, ornaments and workshops, the major repoussé frieze, animal friezes, volute masks and cast shoulder figures, and the uses and workshop of the Derveni krater. From this content it is clear that the author (henceforth B.-Sh.) places her very detailed research in a historical, and above all a broad art historical, stylistic and technical perspective.

B.-Sh. dates the vessel to the second quarter of the 4th century BC, more precisely around 370 BC (p. 8). As the tomb contained a posthumous gold quarter-stater of Philip II, the grave goods probably date to ca 320-300 BC (p. 25) and the krater may have been an heirloom. The inscription on the lip of the mouth of the vessel, silver letters in the eggs of the Ionic kymation, possibly inlaid after production, reads: *Astiouneios Anaxagoraiou ek Larisas*, generally translated as: 'of Astioun, son of Anaxagoras from Larissa'. So Astioun was probably owner of the krater, and may have inherited it from his father. B.-Sh. presumes that Anaxagoras was member of the Aleuadae, a Thessalian family on good terms with Macedonian kings. Astioun, his son or grandson, may have been a cavalry soldier in the army of Alexander the Great and have died around 320 BC (pp. 44-45). This reconstruction is of course very speculative. What is certain is that the soldier died at the age of ca 35/40. The Thessalian inscription is problematical. *Astiouneios* may be a patronymic meaning 'son of Astioun'. For other interpretations see *SEG XLI*, 1991, no 568 (with bibl.; with thanks to dr. R. Tybout).

Antecedents of the volute krater's shape can be found in ceramics from Athens around 480-470 BC. The form continued in South Italian red-figure and even in Neo-Attic marble items. B.-S. holds that the krater was a special commission, probably executed in Athens as indicated by many technical, stylistic, and iconographic details, for example the existence of clay impressions of relief figures found on the Agora, dated to ca 410-380 BC (pp. 84, 106-107, 180), and the continuity of maenad motifs on Neo-Attic vases (pp. 70, 89, 93-94, 106-114, 126-127, 132-135, 141-146, 157, 179). The major frieze in a sensual, fluid, 'rich' style shows a dominant, large, nude Dionysos and a dressed Ariadne, sitting together in a rather erotic union, further dancing maenads, some ecstatic and some cruel, satyrs, an almost nude, ithyphallic Silenos, and an armed hunter with one booted foot, maybe Pentheus, opponent of the wine god (or Lykourgos according to G. Mihailov, *REA* 93, 1991, 39-54). Animal friezes are located under the frieze, above the foot, and on the neck. The masks in the eyes of four handle volutes probably represent Herakles, Acheloos, Hades and Dionysos (pp. 39-42, 166-168). They are Underworld gods (p. 175). Four cast figures on the shoulder show Dionysos, Silenos and maenads. The collective imagery looks coherent. Therefore, it may have had a message: opposition to Dionysos leads to madness

and death, the god himself brings luck (also in afterlife, pp. 180-181, 183). B.-Sh. excludes that the vessel was made for a burial (p. 183), although she associates the volute masks with the other world. In my opinion, the owner or successive owners may have used the krater during symposia. This does not exclude that the brilliant bronze worker or his commissioner realized that its final destination would be funerary, as often symposium sets ended up in tombs (cf. the grave sets in some tombs at Vergina).

The extremely rich content, the mass of endnotes (per chapter and page), perfect references and index make this beautiful book a *ktema eis aei*. It is a pity that drawings of the 'unrolled' friezes are missing. The book is probably not the last word on the masterwork. Questions remain, e.g.: why would a Thessalian man have commissioned a krater at Athens (or in the north-eastern Peloponnese), and not in nearby Macedonia where so many metal vases have been found which can hardly all have been imported? No metal *comparanda* of the krater have been found at Athens. As Euripides worked in his last years at Pella until 406 BC, other Athenian artists may have migrated to Macedonia too. The references to the secret marriage ceremony of Dionysos's substitute with the *basilinna* and a hypothetical monument with prototypical figures, both at Athens (pp. 178-180), do not prove anything. Could a style of ca 370 BC be reproduced at the end of the 4th century? The Neo-Attic reliefs prove that styles can be reproduced centuries later. The ongoing discussion on the 'Philippos'-tomb at Vergina which has a silver calyx cup similar to that in Derveni tomb B (p. 26, fig. 22), shows that dating proposals, especially for metal vessels, still vary. Anyhow, science makes progress: Gisela Richter's dating of the krater to the third or second century BC (made in 1969) can now definitely be dismissed.

L.B. van der Meer

JUDITH SWADDLING/PHILIP PERKINS (eds), *Etruscan by Definition. The Cultural, Regional and Personal Identity of the Etruscans. Papers in Honour of Sybille Haynes, MBE*. London: The British Museum, 2009. 111 pp., figs, 29.5 cm – ISBN 978-86159-173-2.

This interesting booklet contains the *curriculum vitae* of Sybille Haynes written by the grand old lady herself, her bibliography and fourteen contributions of close colleagues, all dedicated to aspects of Etruscan culture and all written in English.

D. Ridgway deals with James Byres' visits to and admiration of Etruria, his intention to write a *History of the Etrurians* which unfortunately never appeared, his positive view on Etruscan art and his negative one on Roman imperialism.

Under the heading *Etruscan Production and Interpretation* D. Williams sheds light on two pots from unknown find spots: the Hamilton Gray Vase, an Etruscan geometric bichrome urn (720-700 BC) and the Ridgway Ram vase, a (ritual?) hybrid, geometric jug with an animal head as mouth, possibly inspired by a Phoenician, metal predecessor (ca 700-680 BC). L. Ambrosini pays attention to the distribution of Attic red-

figure vases of the Zalamea Group in Etruria and Spain in the second half of the 5th century BC. J. Swaddling now dates an authentic ivory *sistrum* in the British Museum, formerly dated to the 7th century BC and incorrectly held to be Etruscan, to the 2nd/1st centuries BC. It belonged to an Isis cult in Campania. G. Bagnasco Gianni tries to explain scenes with *Umaele* on Etruscan mirrors, suggesting that Etruscan *Umaele* is Greek *Eumalos*, a legendary, mantic singer. On some mirrors, however, he is about to write on a diptych (p. 54, figs 1-4). He looks more like a scribe in an oracular context than a singer (cf. Artile on the famous *Cacu* mirror). A. Romualdi attributes three bronze griffin-head protomes (ca 600 BC) from the Brolio deposit (now in Florence) to a workshop at Chiusi.

Under the title *Houses, Tombs and Temples* F. Prayon's article focuses on the *atrium* as an Italo-Etruscan architectural concept and as societal form. The etymology of the word *atrium* seems unresolved. I do not exclude the possibility that the root derives from **atr* (plural of *ati* ('mother')) as funerary stone house *cippi* and house-like stone beds in tombs clearly illustrate the strong relationship between house and woman. St. Steingraber's essay deals with the origins, characteristics, indigenous and exogenous elements of rock-cut tombs. He does not exclude the possibility that the phenomenon had its roots in Asia Minor as it appears suddenly, around 575-550 BC. N.A. Winter holds that archaic terracotta sphinx *akroteria* have different origins (East Greece, Corinth) and that, by consequence, they say something about the cultural identity of the donor or patron. In the next section, *Funerary Practice*, St. Bruni presents a breath-taking article on the 7th century BC tumulus tomb in via San Jacopo at Pisa. He suggests that many elements refer to Homeric funerary rituals. That is correct but the sequence of rites is different from those in the funerals described in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. J.-R. Jannot presents hypotheses about the use of the lotus, poppy and other plants in funerary contexts. Much remains unclear: e.g. did *aryballoi* contain an opium-scented perfume or was it an ointment?

Under the title *Defining the Etruscans: Language and DNA* J. Penney makes clear that the extent of mutual influence between (non I.E.) Etruscan and (I.E.) Italic languages is not yet clear. The reason for the absence of high numbers of loans in both directions may have been the language barrier. In that case the Etruscan language would be an ethnic marker. Penney, however, does not pay attention to the existence of many proper names of Italic origin (e.g. *Mamarce*) in Etruscan inscriptions. Most important is a long contribution on DNA and Etruscan identity by Ph. Perkins. He criticizes the recent conclusion of C. Vernesi et al. (2004) and of M. Pellecchia et al. (2007) that DNA research might point to some migration of people (mostly women) and cattle from Anatolia to Etruria (see *Etruscan Studies*, *Etruscan News* and the many websites, all s.v. DNA, Etruscan). Perkins believes that 'Etruscan ethnicity cannot be determined by genetic studies alone'. That is correct but it would be worthwhile to compare the DNA of contemporary bones from tombs both in Etruria and on Lemnos (ca 800-500 BC), as the Etruscan and Lemnian languages are akin. Perkins advocates a collaboration between molecular biologists and Etruscologists.

But which Etruscologists? The main stream, often biased archaeologists or the more critical, and open minded ones who use all available data? Of course, competitive linguists should also be involved in such an interdisciplinary research.

L.B. van der Meer

PAUL FONTAINE (ed.), *L'Étrurie et l'Ombrie avant Rome. Cité et territoire*. Bruxelles/Rome: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 2010. 248 pp., figs, 27 cm (Actes du colloque international. Louvain-la-Neuve, 13-14.02.2004). – ISBN 978-90-744461-61-0.

Given the title one would expect contributions on the relations between Etruria and Umbria before they were conquered by Rome. If we analyse the introduction written by the editor, however, the aim of the colloquium in 2004 seems to have been to enlighten the process of urbanisation in the two adjacent areas. The hypothesis that at the beginning of the Villanova/Iron age (ca 1000/900 BC) Etruscans migrated from small settlements on hilltops to large clusters of settlements which became the later cities, is now partly abandoned in view of recent research. In Tarquinia there were already settlements in the Final Bronze Age in and outside the plateau of the later city. So when did Etruscan proto-cities come into being? It appears that the births of Veii, Caere, Tarquinia, Vulci, Populonia developed differently. A definition of city or city-state is lacking, but monumentalisation (organized by priests/rulers) might be a good indicator as e.g. is visible in the Civita sanctuary at Tarquinia around 700 BC. On archaeological grounds cities in Umbria, less rich than Etruria, probably have developed only after the Roman conquest but Fontaine realizes that more research under the Roman cities is necessary. I only list the other thirteen contributions, written in four languages. M. Pacciarelli gives indications of social complexity in the proto-urban communities of southern Etruria, Tarquinia and Veii, in the Iron Age. A. Maggiani casts light on the formation of the city and territory of Volterra and by comparison upon that of Chiusi and Vetulonia. L. Cappuccini deals with the dynamics of settlements at Chiusi in the 7th and 6th centuries BC. L. Donatelli deals with Poggio Civitella on the border of Chiusi's territory. P. Perkins sheds light on the cultural and political landscape of the *Ager Caletranus*, north-west of Chiusi. F. Prayon analyses orthogonal settlement patterns and temple orientations taking the excavation site Castellina di Marangone as starting point. A. Naso deals with the Etruscans in the Tolfa Mountains from the 7th to the 5th centuries BC. G. Bradley offers a survey of cities and communities in pre-Roman Umbria. L. Bonomi Ponzi presents three emblematical case studies of ancient Umbria: Terni, Colfiorito and Gualdo Tadino. D. Manconi writes about Spello and Spoleto as outposts of Valle Umbra. Her observations are based on finds from emergency excavations. S. Stoddart presents the changing views of the Gubbio landscape, based upon research until 2005. M. Torelli analyses the relationship between Etruscans and Umbrians, the interferences,

conflicts and material loans. D. Briquel examines the grandeur of the Umbrians in the eyes of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and the image of the Umbrians in the Greek and Latin literature. *Mirabile dictu*, no attention is paid to epigraphic documents like the bronze *Tabulae Iguvinae*. All articles are well illustrated with many maps, and even with colour photos. The proceedings, though published six years after the colloquium, are important as they present many new data about the Etruscan and Umbrian landscape, cities and settlements. Most articles have useful, separate bibliographies. In some cases, unfortunately, the references are in the footnotes.

L.B. van der Meer

VALENTINA VINCENTI, *La Tomba Bruschi di Tarquinia*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2009. xi+190 pp., 8 b/w and 15 colour pls, 29.5 cm (Materiali del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia XVII; Archaeologica 150). – ISBN 978-88-7689-235-6 (paperback).

Valentina Vincenti's book deals with the less known Etruscan Tomba Bruschi. It was discovered in a private area belonging to the Counts Bruschi, at the periphery of the necropolis of Calvario, just outside the walls of Tarquinia, in 1864. Fortunately, in the same year drawings of the wall-paintings were made by Gregorio Mariani. Two paintings were removed and stored in the local museum. Then the tomb was closed to prevent further damage by vandals. In 1963 the tomb was rediscovered and documented after an attempt of *tombaroli* to rob its grave goods was prevented. All extant, rather fragmentary paintings and remains of sarcophagi were removed and used for the reconstruction of the tomb in the museum. No skeletons were found. The hypogeum, 3 meters under the surface (closed again after 1963), has a square form (6.70 x 6.20 m) with two niches and two painted pillars (showing Charun and a woman). At least fourteen sarcophagi stood against and in front of the walls. The paintings show converging processions of men dressed in white linen togas guided by musicians, *liticines* and *cornicines*. The main persons, two men riding horses, one of whom died at 23 years, are guided by demons. They must have been magistrates as some *lictors* or *apparitores* hold *fascēs* (p. 30). On the left wall the procession is curiously interrupted by a lady with a head wreath (now lost) holding a pomegranate in her left hand, whose name is *larθi ursm[nai]*, member of an elite family (see p. 114). She sees herself reflected in a hand-mirror held up by a female assistant. According to V. the woman might be a Dionysian *mystēs* (pp. 65–66). The *krateriskos* (not a *kantharos*) of an anepigraphic, female sarcophagus lid figure also refers to the Dionysian cult (p. 76). The mirror was probably a female status symbol, comparable with male political attributes (p. 69). Inscriptions on the walls (most of them lost now, pp. 101–118) show that the tomb belonged to the *gens* Ap(u)nas. This clan, already powerful in 6th century BC Southern Etruria, was later also present at Cerveteri, Volterra, Bolsena, Perugia and Cortona (pp. 107–123), showing the strong social mobility of elite

families in the last four centuries BC. The inscriptions may mention members of four generations. This, like many scenes on south Etruscan sarcophagi and Volterran urns, demonstrates the belief that the deceased would see their family again in the underworld (cf. the reviewers's *Myth and more on Etruscan stone sarcophagi*. Louvain 2004, 81–83, 92–100 and e.g. M. Cristofani (ed.), *Corpus delle urne etrusche* 2. *Urne Volterrane* 2, 1, no 183). The hardly or unpublished stone sarcophagi, 2 complete ones, 4 chests (one showing a procession in relief) and 8 lids (some of which are lost) date from ca 340/310 until 225/175 BC. As is well-known, dates of late Etruscan tomb-paintings vary, sometimes from the 4th until the 1st century BC. Based on contextual evidence (e.g. the position and dates of the sarcophagi, some Etrusco-Campanian vases), alphabetic, antiquarian and stylistic indications, V. dates the paintings at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd centuries BC, before Tarquinia was conquered by Rome, probably before 281 BC. The walls were painted after the introduction of the oldest sarcophagi. One indication is that some painted inscriptions mention the lexeme *mutniaθi* ('in the sarcophagus'). Appendix 1 presents the archival documents from 1864 to 1979, and Appendix 2 describes the technical aspects of the removal of the paintings. The bibliography is almost completely up to date. Several abbreviated references in footnotes, however, are not present in the bibliography. There are spelling errors in the main text: e.g. *skiphos* instead of *skyphos* and the Italianised Latin adjective *magistralis* (passim). V. defines a parade, clearly a procession in the underworld, as a *funus triumphalis* (p. 46). One should read: *funus triumphale*. As nothing, however, refers to a triumph, it is just a procession with elements of this world (musicians, *lictors*) and the neither-world (demons) (cf. p. 72). The translation of *vel apnas larθial clan* ('Vel Apnas son of Larth', p. 105) is incorrect as he is the son of a woman, Larthi or Larthia, possibly of Larthi Ursmnai mentioned before. The comment on the inscriptions is too short. Translations are missing. The photographs, also those in colour, are of good quality. Let us hope that other late classical and Hellenistic painted tombs also will be published in monographs, if possible with indices and without the many, usual spelling errors in non-Italian names and publication titles. But all in all Vincenti's book is worthwhile, written with much care. Her chronological proposals are convincing.

L.B. van der Meer

FABIO COLIVICCHI, *Materiali in alabastro, vetro, avorio, osso, uova di struzzo*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2007. XI+258 pp, 53 figs, 8 pls, 24 cm (Materiali del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia XVI; Archaeologica 145). – ISBN 978-88-7689-2311-1.

This book is the sixteenth monograph on archaeological materials in the splendid National Archaeological Museum at Tarquinia. F. Colivicchi (C.) presents, dates and comments on 554 artifacts. Most objects are preserved in the magazines, unfortunately many without an inventory number. In Part 1 of the book vases, most-

ly *alabastra* (of calcareous alabaster, gypsum or another material) and objects of stone, in Part 2 vases and objects of glass (on a friable core, stamped, or blown), in Part 3 objects of ivory of bone, and in Part 4 ostrich-eggs are studied in a meticulous way, well organized under headings such as groups, form, types and variants. Every chapter has a long, thorough, up to date introduction. Unfortunately, precise contexts are rarely known. Probably because of this, many items are not dated individually. Not all the artifacts are Etruscan. Many calcareous *alabastra* are of Egyptian origin, transported by Phoenicians to Etruria, after ca 600 BC. The production place of *alabastra* of gypsum is still a problem (p. 42). It may have been Tarquinia, as local gypsum was already used in prehistory. An east-west transmission of technical know how is also shown by glass and ivory. The glass production started in Mesopotamia, later it spread to Rhodes, Carthage, Crete and Etruria. Some types of glass were probably produced in Etruria itself, after ca 650 BC (pp. 74, 77). Blown glass was probably invented in the Syro-Palestine region before ca 50 BC. Although the technique was imitated in Italy, Tarquinia did not play a role in the production. As for several kinds of ivory artifacts, 5th century BC Vulci seems to have been a production centre (p. 150). Tarquinia's museum has 45 mirror handles of bone, presumably used from ca 350 until ca 200 BC, or even much later (p. 179). It appears that most bone artifacts are related to the *mundus muliebris*. Even parasols of bone remain. The five half ostrich-egg shells used as cups from the 7th and 6th centuries BC were imported from Carthage or from another Phoenician region, and may be partly local products.

Though the book has no central research questions, it ends with Conclusions which summarize the use of all materials mentioned from the Iron Age until the Julio-Claudian period. Indices are missing but this is compensated by a worthwhile bibliography (with few spelling errors). The many profile drawings are excellent and the black and white plates are reasonable. The book is for consultation rather than for reading. It is highly specialized. Hopefully, a catalogue of mirrors, e.g. a fascicle of the *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum*, will follow soon. For a very detailed criticism of V.'s *catalogue raisonné* one should read the online review of Jean MacIntosh Turfa (<http://bmrc.brynmawr.edu/2009/2009-08-53.html>).

L.B. van der Meer

PHILIP PERKINS, *Etruscan Bucchero in the British Museum*. London: The British Museum, 2007. 136 pp., figs, 30 cm. – ISBN 978-086159-165-7.

Perkins's book is an outstanding *catalogue raisonné* of all bucchero vases in the British Museum (BM). These completely black or less black vessels, markers of Etruscan culture, usually substitutes for more precious metal vases or Greek fine ware, were used in settlements, tombs and sanctuaries. Chapter 1 deals with the formation of the large collection, which grew from more than thirty other collections or collectors between 1756 until 1980.

Chapter 2 evaluates former studies of bucchero. The

author uses, in addition to many CVA volumes, specialized studies and recent excavation reports, the classification and typology of T. Rasmussen whose seminal book of 1979 recently has been republished as paperback (*Bucchero Pottery from Southern Etruria*. Cambridge 2006). A nice feature is the attention paid to the most recent attempts to reconstruct the production process (pp. 8-10) and the treatment of the vases after they arrived in collections. According to most recent research the black colour was created by 'the firing within sealed containers (saggars) filled with organic material such as sawdust' (pp. 8-9). As might be expected, the exact archaeological context of the items is unknown, apart from four pieces from graves at Tharros on Sardinia (nos 11, 17, 45 and 46).

Chapter 3, the catalogue, lists in the alphabetical sequence of 37 vase names, from 'alabastra' to 'tripod vases', 309 items, 11 of which are sherds. Many items come from Campania. For each vase the register number, catalogue number, measurements, find spot, production place, acquirement, date and colour (described in detail) are mentioned. There follows a very detailed explanation of how each vase was made (potting, turning on a wheel, joining of parts, burnishing, the inclusion of silver mica, decoration, firing). Finally matches or *comparanda* are mentioned, which may shed light on the production centre. Most vases are illustrated by a small but sharp black and white photo and some by drawings of profiles and cylinder stamps. The oldest items are dated to ca 670 (e.g. no 5), the most recent ones maybe to ca 400 BC (nos 45-46 from Tharros). The proposed dates are rather global: the chronological upper and under limits range from 20 to 120 years. All types of classes, *bucchero leggero*, *pesante*, and a *cilindretto* are represented, though in varying quantities.

The concordances list register numbers, CVA plates, BM catalogue numbers, Perkins's catalogue numbers, figures, and the source (the former owners) of the items, followed by indices of the (presumed) places of production, find spots, 24 vessels with graffiti, and a bibliography. As many museums have buccheri, often insufficiently published and of unknown origin, Perkins's study may be an *exemplum* and a goldmine for authors of future modern bucchero catalogues.

Some problems are unresolved. How can false items be detected (cf. no 297)? What are the differences between *bucchero pesante* from Orvieto and that from Chiusi (cf. no 42)? Was Campanian bucchero exported (cf. no 200)? How can 'Ionian' bucchero (cf. no 1) be recognized? What is its relation with Etruscan bucchero? Chemical research may be helpful to answer these questions. In addition, we might ask whether Campanian bucchero may be called Etruscan, as places like Capua were multiethnic.

L.B. van der Meer

TANER KORKUT, *Girlanden-Ostotheken aus Kalkstein in Pamphilien und Kilikien*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2006 (Sarkophag-Studien 4). IX, 129 pp., 38 figs, 64 pls; 29 cm. – ISBN 978-3-8053-3563-8.

Each region of ancient Asia Minor had its own styles and forms of funerary monuments, from urns to large

tomb buildings. Therefore, it has been a good initiative of the Marburg centre of studies of sarcophagi to publish corpora of material from the different regions. In a re-elaboration of her German PhD-diss. Korkut presents a modest class of *ostothecae* (small chests used to contain ashes and bones of the cremated deceased) made of local limestone in the south-eastern part of modern Turkey. The shapes and decorations of the 251 pieces are mostly similar to those on the much larger sarcophagi in marble from the same region. They are seldom round, and the rectangular ones have the form of a house, including a door or doors on the sides and gabled roofs as lids, whereas the reliefs show garlands held up by Cupids or Victories. More specific elements are the portrait busts or heads placed within the garlands or in-between. The author has made classifications of 'Gruppen' in typologies based on different criteria. Since the amount is considerable these groups often work well. After a treatment of typologies, Korkut passes over to iconography, discussing the plant species of the garlands (laurel etc.), the garland bearers (Erotes etc.), and the portraits. Some motifs (vases, wreaths, door depictions) and figures (Dionysos, Hermes) can clearly be associated with the realm of the dead. The notion of a *consecratio in formam deorum*, so familiar in the west, lacks. The portrait busts or heads are intentional rather than realistic, but seem indeed to symbolise the deceased, which implies that more than one individual were 'buried' within the chests. Since there are more busts or heads than one, they can constitute a couple or a small family. Hair fashion gives clues as to chronology: they follow the fashions of the emperors and empresses (see also extensively chapter 7, in which other factors are treated as well). The inscriptions may refer to the persons entombed and if they lack we must imagine other indications in the tomb chambers.

An interesting chapter is dedicated to the production of the chests. The limestone stems from quarries as near as possible to the cemeteries. These *ostothecae*, therefore were not destined for exportation and were found in the neighbourhood. Finally, there is a brief chapter on the display and function of the chests, which is not very thorough because of the lack of find data for most of the chests.

I have little to comment upon the results of this impeccable study. It is not a very thrilling class of material and the discussion does not stimulate the author to draw revolutionary conclusions, but its utility will be long-lasting. The catalogue and most of the conclusion can play a role in the future debate on local styles and customs.

Eric M. Moormann

ANDREA FABER/ADOLF HOFMANN, *Die Casa del Fauno in Pompeji* (VI 12) 1. *Bauhistorische Analyse. Die stratigraphischen Befunde und Funde der Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1961 bis 1963*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2009. 244 pp., 3 text figs, 34 figs, 12 appendices, 67 pls, 12 folding pls; 30 cm. (Archäologische Forschungen, 25). – ISBN 978-3-89500-650-0.

The title betrays the long history of German research

in the biggest and in many respects grandest house of ancient Pompeii, the Casa del Faun (here CdF). Hoffmann was to publish a monograph in the prestigious series *Häuser in Pompeji*, edited by Volker Michael Strocka, but now clearly opts for another strategy. He presents a brief architectural history of the CdF based on the results of the excavations carried out by Arnold Tschira and Friedrich Rakob, which are presented by his colleague Andrea Faber. Visitors of the house finally get insight into the investigations carried out almost 50 years ago that left as only proof a set of walls under the actual layer in the large room 42 in the second peristyle. This does not mean, however, that the reader gets a full comprehension of the complex that apparently will follow in a sequel to this well edited book.

The results are presented dryly, without making connections to other research in Pompeii on the layers previous to the eruption of AD 79. The CdF, therefore, seems to remain an isolated monument, but let us hope that the following publications will give more insight. The publications quoted are all rather old (there is no bibliography which gives a good overview of the works used) and only focus on the house itself. That implies that no intense comparison is made with the increasing number of stratigraphic investigations all over Pompeii in the last decades, often well published and object of discussion, among others of monographs in the outstanding series *Studi della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei* founded by superintendent Pietro Giovanni Guzzo. What was a revolution in Pompeian archaeology in the early 1960s, has almost become a fossil in nowadays *Pompeianistica*. The authors seem to realise this and give a clear series of conclusions that partly match similar investigations (pp. 103-109).

Therefore it is difficult to assess the conclusions in full. Hoffmann and Faber distinguish various phases. The terrain contained structures before the erection of 'Casa del Fauno 1', but their nature remains obscure, all traces having been demolished in antiquity. CdF 1 occupies the entire insula, albeit with a large garden or *hortus* where CdF 2 would get the second peristyle. Partial reconstructions lead to CdF 3, the monument that we see nowadays. As a matter of fact the articulation as a whole, with two atria, did not change very much. From the first moment there was a peristyle and rooms demanding attention next to it, so that one can consider this house as a mix of Italic and Greek elements. Regarding chronology, without saying the authors assume that all depends from the finds in the old digs. This leads to the following time scheme:

- 1) Traces of buildings 5th-3rd centuries BC
- 2) CdF 1: second quarter 2nd century BC; some interventions in the next 25 years
- 3) CdF 2: first decades of 1st century BC; some interventions in the next decades
- 4) CdF 3: first quarter of 1st century AD; subsequent interventions, i.a. as a result of the AD 62 earthquake.

Phase 2 includes the embellishment of the house with the splendid mosaics (Battle of Alexander and Darius, Fight of fishes, erotic couple, Nilotic frieze, etc.) and greater part of the first-style wall decorations. I think that, if the authors are right, this is of great consequence for the study of mosaics and murals in the late Hellenistic

period. By sticking to ca 100-80 BC, Hoffmann and Faber see, like all scholars up to now, the house as a Samnite urban palace, but all without saying. The famous *have* inscription in front of the western entrance would have had a Samnite counterpart. The only reference to Pompeian urbanistics is the explanation of the construction of a second floor in phase 3 as the result of 'gesellschaftliche Veränderungen' (p. 52), which are not explained or assessed whatsoever but in note 222 on p. 109.

It is clear, this reader closed the book with mixed feelings: happy that finally some results of old work have been made public, unhappy because of the fragmentary state of the book within the study of the house and its place in Pompeian history. Let us hope that the second volume will not come with a delay as long as this work has suffered from.

Eric M. Moormann

CATHERINE SALIOU, *Vitruve. De l'architecture livre V*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2009. LXXVI+434 pp., 71 figs; 19 cm (Collection des Universités de France). – ISBN 978-2-251-01453-1/ISSN 0184-7155.

This volume is the last of an impressive series of single editions of Vitruvius' ten books *De architectura* in the Budé series, started with the publication of book 9 in 1969 by Jean Soubiran. Mme Saliou obtained her habilitation with this edition in 2006 and delivered an excellent piece of work. Saliou places herself in the relatively short, but already impressive tradition of the Budé series of the last decades by editing the text with her own amendments to the critical edition, a thorough introduction almost as lengthy as the text itself, a new translation and an extensive commentary in which all modern literature pertaining the topics treated by Vitruvius is discussed. This commentary almost becomes a manual on public building in its own. Reading these three hundred pages is a great pleasure and renders the reader extremely well instructed.

This volume is dedicated to the profane public edifices, to start with the agora/forum. Since the topic contains complicated issues such as the acoustics of theatres, Vitruvius deservedly observes that he has to explain the matter as clearly as possible. A nice look into the process of conception of *De Architectura* is that he explains, in this respect, the modest dimensions of each of the ten books: the reader can pick up more easily the information contained in a slim volume than when he has to peruse a lengthy and ponderous book. That book 5 is the last in the series, is mere coincidence, but without suggesting so, Saliou makes clear that it forms the centre of Vitruvius' work in all senses. The master himself used the image of the Pythagorean *tetraktys* of ten numbers in which five forms the pit (p. 100, *ad* Preface 5, note 2). The centrality of the book might also be explained by the fact that Vitruvius comes to the fore as a practicing architect himself: he presents the basilica built after his design on the forum of *Fanum* (modern Fano) as an example of a well designed and 'correctly' executed building that belongs to a complicated class of necessary commodities in the public central space of every Roman town. Unfortunately, excavations in this Roman colony on the Adriatic coast have

not brought to light remains of this monument, so that its reconstruction is limited to paper work and a sound assessment of Vitruvius is impossible.

Book 5 contains a learned essay on acoustics and the harmony of sound, connected with the description of the outlay of theatres in both the Greek and Roman world. While it seems a rather unbalanced chapter, with a relatively brief explanation of the theatres' features and the lengthy excursus on sound, one may also argue that the importance of the theatre is dictated by the demands of human ears. Vitruvius' ongoing interest in human health gets a great monument in these pages. Moreover, it is his distinction between Greek and Roman theatres that is still the canonical one found in textbooks for students and learned monographs alike. One may wonder why Vitruvius does not pay attention to amphitheatres, a category of buildings not yet fully developed at Rome in his time, while the south of Italy already had stone examples, e.g. at Pompeii. Possibly it is, indeed, the shortage of concrete examples in the urbs, but also the short scope of Vitruvius' panorama of what was *Italia* (see Saliou's interesting remarks about a possible definition: neither Etruria nor Campania, let alone the more northern and southern areas of the peninsula). His more times expressed conservatism can be another reason for this lacuna as well.

Rather a notice than a review, this brief presentation cannot but praise Saliou's Vitruvius. In the last years I have used with great profit the other volumes of the Budé Vitruvius and this will not change. The series can be recommended to all sorts of scholars who work with this unique source: classicists, archaeologists, architectural historians and art historians. As to the latter category, those who study Vitruvius' *Nachleben* will find many important explanations of terminology and forms of buildings as well as rules described by the architect who enriched Fano with a basilica.

Eric M. Moormann

MARJATTA NIELSEN/ANNETTE RATHJE (eds), *Johannes Wiedewelt. A Danish Artist in Search of the Past, Shaping the Future*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2010. 372 pp., num. ill. colour and b/w, 24.5 cm. (Acta Hyperborea 11). – ISSN 0904-2067/ISBN 978-87-635-0787-5.

In the study of Antiquity, Johannes Wiedewelt (1731-1802) has a certain prestige as one of Winckelmann's friends in Rome. There he made a thorough study of ancient and modern architecture and collected a bulk of documents to be taken home. This multi-faceted figure gets a worthy monument in this new volume of a high-quality series dedicated to reception studies. Marjatta Nielsen introduces him (pp. 11-61), sketches his life, present his achievements, and explains the other papers. His contribution to Danish culture is the introduction of neoclassical architecture of an almost timeless simple grandeur. Wiedewelt has remained in the shadow of Thorvaldsen and studies about him are almost uniquely in Danish. After almost six years in Paris, at Rome he shared a room with Winckelmann, of modest social status like him, in 1756-1757, and had to

return in 1758 to get a number of projects from the court and other important institutions in Copenhagen. Here he lived the rest of his life. Other sources of inspiration were found during a trip to England in 1768.

As to Antiquity, the book contains a few contributions that are relevant. Nielsen (pp. 85-111) has written an essay on Wiedewelt's drawings of antique objects in Rome. These documentary sketches would serve as sources for various monuments, e.g. the sarcophagus of King Christian VI in Roskilde Cathedral. The simplicity of drawings matched Wiedewelt's neoclassical taste, as reflected in a Danish treatise of 1762 on that matter. Jan Zahle discusses the plaster casts (pp. 127-173) that were collected by Wiedewelt, since the acquisition of marble originals in Rome was out of (financial) order. These acquisitions were partly private, partly for the Royal Academy of Arts: students should draw after real statues or three-dimensional reproductions. Zahle retraces a number of Wiedewelt's casts and those already present in Copenhagen and bought in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. They are an eclectic set of Roman portraits, copies of Greek ideal statuary and so on. A great acquisition was made by another great Danish artist, Nicolai Abraham Abildgaard, in 1788-1789, so that Copenhagen could compete with collections elsewhere in Europe. The pieces reflect the general neoclassical taste influenced by Winckelmann's works.

Anne Haslund Hansen, Vinnie Nørskov and Hanne Thomassen analyse Wiedewelt's *Catalogue of Egyptian and Roman Antiquities* of 1786 (pp. 241-257). The private collection Høegh-Guldbergh (now mostly in the National Museum of Denmark) was described according to principles developed by Caylus and Winckelmann, viz. starting from chronology, iconography, and the importance of the object for its artistic value. Wiedewelt wrote this book as a proof of his quality as antiquarian scholar, which was great and up-to-date. The objects themselves are small and belong to the Egyptian, Greek and Roman realm. The genuineness of some pieces is still to be assessed. I do not discuss the other contributions that have little or nothing to do with antiquity, but they are worth reading and portray this fascinating artist and theoretician Wiedewelt was.

An article out of order, but not less interesting is an the text of a lecture given in 2004 at Copenhagen by Salvatore Settis on 'Cultural Heritage and Italian Politics' (pp. 343-362). He explains the rich artistic and historical heritage as part of the urban and landscape context well protected from the Middle Ages onwards. After a brief overview of the laws in the past and the regulation of culture management, Settis warns for a decontextualisation and financial valorization of monuments that makes them objects of commercial administration. He carefully avoids clear political remarks, but an addendum about 2004-2010 would have been useful to update his contribution.

Eric M. Moormann

PETER SCHULTZ/RALF VON DEN HOFF (eds), *Structure, Image, Ornament. Architectural Sculpture in the Greek World*. Proceedings of an international conference held at the American School of Classical Studies,

27-28 November 2004. Oxford/Oakville: Oxbow Books, 2009. VII, 238 pp., figs; 30.5 cm. – ISBN 978-1-84217-344-2.

This volume presents a wide array of studies about aspects narrowly connected with the architecture of grand sanctuaries in - mainly - the classical and Hellenistic Greek World. Some papers delivered in 2004 have been published in larger publications as well. The editors subdivided the (numbered) sixteen contributions into four sections. The first section on 'Structure and Ornament' focuses on the way sculpture functions within its architectural space. Robin Osborne evidences the advantages and weaknesses of decorating pediments, metopes and Ionic friezes. He concentrates on frontal representations, urging the spectator to take part with the scene, which is particularly true for chariots. An extra point is his explanation of the absence of satyrs in temple sculpture: they stand for disorder, have no narrative of their own and these two faults are not resolved in myth. Peter Higgs takes up the complicated discussion about the date of the reliefs of the coffered ceiling of the Athena Temple at Priene. The fragmentary pieces of high quality are mostly dated to the first building phase, the third quarter of the fourth century, but would have been installed only after the completion of the building in the second century. In my view, Higgs' analysis is convincing: the pieces do not betray a stylistic similarity with the sculptures of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus and are rather comparable to monuments from the second century. The frequent occurrence of the Giants' Battle in that century might be a secondary, albeit less conclusive reason. Patricia Butz's brief, but elegant essay on the ornamental character of Greek inscriptions concludes with the observation that the monoline letters are of a Doric character, whereas letters with serifs rather belong to the Ionic order. The absence of images complicates an immediate assessment of this paper, without consulting corpora of inscriptions. David Scahill retraces the roots of the Corinthian capital in funerary art in an iconographic way, and in the mix of stone or marble *kalathos*-like capitals with bronze adornments. A striking case is a smooth *kalathos*-like capital from Corinth. Tonio Hölscher finishes the section in a way Osborne started it, viz. by examining sculpture decoration as mere messages or decorative elements of buildings. The difficulty of contemplating these decorations (for the viewer in a high and slanting position) on architecturally subordinate elements make friezes, metopes and pediments adornments rather than messengers, for messages cannot be understood in one glance. The consequence is the introduction of reliefs on the viewer's level (Altar of Pergamon, *Ara Pacis Augustae*) in oblong format that form a solution of this struggle between ornament and meaning.

In 'II, Technique and Agency' editor Peter Schultz focuses on the Temple of Asklepios of Epidauros and the 'agency' of its artists. That the artists Timotheos and Theol[.] earned much more with their acroterial figures than Hekordas and [?] with the pediments should not be explained by Timotheos' later fame but by the merely concurring position and the different payment

of each artist's skill. Style and skill were much more important as discriminating factors than we usually think. Katherine Schwab, who already did much work on reconstructing other east metopes of the Parthenon, concentrates on the badly preserved metope 14 with two horses. Including the study of drill holes serving for the application of bronze additions, she reconstructs Helios driving a *quadriga* to the left. András Patay-Horvath also studies metal attachments to architectural sculptures, esp. hair locks in the late archaic and classical period. His suggestion of bronze hair locks to the head of one of Olympia's centaurs (p. 90, figs 8.6-8.10) is not picked up by Westervelt (see below, pp. 137, 147). Here I would have inserted Scahill's essay (see above).

Section III on 'Myth and Narrative' focuses on mythical history as displayed by Athens. Editor Ralf von den Hoff 'rearranges' the metopes on the Treasury of Athens at Delphi in such a way that the balance between the pan-Hellenic hero Herakles and the Athenian Theseus becomes clear, which happens within the decade 510-500 after Kleisthenes' reform and first military successes of Athenian hoplites. Judith Barringer highlights the Athenian Hephaisteion as a monument to celebrate the male power of Athens by honouring Theseus and Herakles. They are symbols of man-made democracy, guided by the two gods worshipped in the temple. She suggests that the never well explained eastern frieze might represent an early fight, as described by Plato, of Athens against Atlantis (see now her *Art, Myth and Ritual in Classical Greece*, Cambridge 2008). Iphigeneia Leventi studies the badly preserved and barely readable blocks of the Ionic frieze of the Poseidon Temple at Sounion from the 440s (see now *Antike Plastik* 30, 2008, 1-54) that would represent scenes connected with Athens's mythic history. Again, Theseus (in the Centauromachy) and Herakles (in the Gigantomachy) are the most important heroes. There is a clear connection with Poseidon who has a place of pride in the Gigantomachy. Formally, the frieze resembles that of the Parthenon, where in other ways the symbolic language is identical. Moreover, both monuments stand upon remains of temples destroyed in 480 by the Persians. Hilda Westervelt's essay tries to read the sculptural programme of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia in respect to Herakles, mainly eternized on the metopes. Herakles features in the Elean Centauromachy of the west pediment (probably the head of fig. 12.9, see p. 147) - so not, as is said by Pausanias, in the Centauromachy with Peirithoos and Theseus - and stands on the same level as Pelops in the east pediment. Both were considered founders of the Olympic Games. Westervelt illustrates her thesis about the specific Gigantomachy with vase images of Herakles slaying Centaurs in the same battle (one detail: the vase of fig. 12.13 is not in The Hague, but in the Allard Pierson Museum at Amsterdam). Westervelt explains Pausanias' errors in his interpretation of the Centauromachy in a way that endorses her arguments very well.

The last section, on 'Diffusion and Influence' opens with an analysis of the metopes from Selinus by Erik Østby, who could not include in his discussion a recent monograph by C. Marconi (*Temple Decoration and Cultural Identity in the Archaic Greek World: The Metopes of Selinus*, Cambridge 2007). He sketches the development of narrative in metopes from mid 6th to mid 5th century

and characterises the iconographic programmes as expressions of oppositions between good and bad, man and woman and the like. In the case of the youngest example (Temple E, 460-450, dedicated to Hera), Østby suggests the influence of local intellectuals like the Pythagoreans or Empedokles. Justin Walsh adapts a theoretical approach, that of hybridity originating in mixed societies, to gate reliefs on Thasos: they show mixed styles, iconographies, and messages reflecting the various influences the island underwent in the run of the late archaic and classical periods. In this way he fully tallies with the theme of section 4. Martin Bentz and Lorenz Winkler-Horaček close with papers on somewhat different monuments, viz. a funerary pillar from Chios (now in Berlin) and the much disputed 'Parthian' monument from Ephesos on which after this contribution was written a pile of new publications has come out (see p. 212).

This brief overview shows the wide array of topics and the thrilling proposals made by these excellent scholars. The subdivision of the papers into the four sections mentioned is nowhere explained and not clear to me in all cases. As to the editorial matters, I must say that the quality of several illustrations is not very high (e.g. Olympia and Thasos). There are a few misspellings. But this does not detract from the book's quality. The editors have to be congratulated with this fine series of papers.

Eric M. Moormann

SABINE FOURRIER, *La coroplastie chypriote archaïque. Identités culturelles et politiques à l'époque des royautés* (*Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient* 46). Lyon: Maison de l'Orient, 2007. 196 pp., 9 figs, 24 pls; 29.5 cm. - ISBN 978-2-903264-66-6.

The main title of Sabine Fourrier's monograph may create the misleading impression of a study in 'art history'. The secondary title, however, is successful in correcting immediately this impression, by alluding to the primary aim of the study to deal with Cypriot Iron Age cultural and political identities.

The main body of the monograph consists of two parts, prefaced by a methodological introduction and followed by an annex where the data-set, i.e. the terracottas (of both large and small scale) on which the discussion is based, are listed according to site and style. As this material and its typology are relatively known from previous publications, and as the author's primary goal is to establish regional groups of production, object information in the annex is reasonably confined to depository and inventory number. Acknowledgements, a chronological table, a list of bibliographic abbreviations, a bibliography, an index, a list of illustrations and 24 plates complete the book.

In her introduction Fourrier puts the Cypro-Archaic period in context, laying out the scope of her study and her methodology, and relating her project to the existing scholarship. The political segmentation of Cyprus in many city-kingdoms, clearly evident in the Cypro-Archaic period, coincides with the multiplication of Cypriot sanctuaries and the abundance of various coroplastic, sculptural and ceramic artistic styles. Building

on earlier studies, the author aims, for the first time, to organise Cypro-Archaic terracottas from the various sanctuaries in a new system based on regional styles, drawing patterns of diffusion in the various regions, the centre of which is assumed to have functioned as a capital of royal authority. For methodological reasons, her corpus of analysed data is confined to anthropomorphic figurines with clear provenance.

In the first - and most extensive - part the author analyses the regional styles of the island in nine chapters. Each chapter refers to a production centre: Salamis, Idalion, Kition, Amathous, Kourion, Paphos, Marion, Soloi, and the northern part of the island, in which Fourrier includes Lapithos and Kazaphani. In the first section of each chapter she reviews the existing evidence and the problems that arise from its discovery, in an effort to define the various styles. She regards a particular 'regional style' as a shared element of a community, which can be defined following a consideration of morphological characteristics, manufacturing techniques and sources of influence. In the second section of each chapter the author proceeds to a discussion of the diffusion of the various styles in the sanctuaries attempting, where possible, a distribution based on the distance from the production centre: sanctuaries very close to the centre (*le cercle proche*), territorial sanctuaries (*les sanctuaires de territoire*), and frontier sanctuaries (*les sanctuaires de frontière*). Fourrier allocates - most often justifiably in my opinion - many extra-urban sanctuaries in the territories of specific city-kingdoms, or in frontier zones between two city-kingdoms. In the Cypro-Archaic period, these sanctuaries should have belonged to secondary centres, villages and/or farmsteads within the sphere of influence of specific city-kingdoms. She, therefore, successfully manages to identify liminal zones between the various city-kingdoms. I selectively mention her pioneer assignment of Arsos to Salamis 'sphere of interest' (I would cautiously use the term 'territory' in these instances), or of Agia Irini to Soloi.

In the second part the author brings together in three chapters the evidence from the previous chapters exploring the relations between workshops, sanctuaries and polities in the wider context of the island's entity. Fourrier attempts an interpretation that addresses the diffusion of regional styles in relation to segmented cultural and political identities. This is the less extensive part, but the author raises fundamental - and indeed very complex and complicated - questions arising from the material.

In chapter one, taking on Gjerstad's proposed chronology based on the finds from Agia Irini and on comparisons between Cypriot material found on the island and in the Aegean (mainly Samos), she discusses the problem of chronology proposing new and convincing revisions of stylistic successions and stratigraphy. In the second section of this chapter, Fourrier attempts to encapsulate in three pages (107-109) the complexity of the formation of the Cypriot city-kingdoms in relation to the birth of regional styles. The development of secondary urban centres, the multiplication of the extra-urban sanctuaries and the evolution of coroplastic styles in the early Cypro-Archaic period represent the climax of a process that began well in the Early Iron Age. These phenomena might well relate to the consolida-

tion of the city-kingdoms and their territories and the island's entry under the Assyrian sphere of influence and 'rule'. While I agree with the main lines of Fourrier's thought, I would wonder about the meaning of her proposed reorganisation of the Cypriot city-kingdoms from 'un regime royal à un regime monarchique' during the course of the 8th/7th centuries BC (p. 109). A more detailed explanation of her view in this context would have been particularly welcome.

In the second chapter of the second part, Fourrier draws conclusions about the distribution of terracotta styles on the island, as an indicator for the territorial formation of the various Cypro-Archaic city-kingdoms proposing a theoretical, as she herself emphasises (p. 112), map of the various regions of influence assumed for each kingdom (fig. 9). The artistic styles allow her to see nine regions, which she regards as corresponding to the territories of nine polities (Salamis, Idalion, Kition, Amathous, Kourion, Paphos, Marion, Soloi and Lapithos) that functioned as distinct city-kingdoms between the second half of the 7th and the beginning of the 5th century BC. As she herself admits, this distribution of styles on the territories does not supply an account of the dynamic, more or less slow, processes of the formation or abolition of some polities. At this point a central issue should be made clear: Fourrier is right not to seek for borders between the various city-kingdoms, but instead for 'frontier zones', that is, liminal (or even meeting) zones among the various communities. Therefore, different types of terracotta figurines correspond to different production zones, which she assigns to the landscapes of the various city-kingdoms considering the epigraphic and numismatic evidence. She further acknowledges that the number of the Cypriot city-kingdoms was diminishing from Cypro-Archaic to the Cypro-Classical period, because polities were fighting over each other's territories (see M. Iacovou, *From Ten to Naught. Formation, Consolidation and Abolition of the Cyprus' Iron Age Polities*, *Cahier du Centre d'Études Chypriotes* 32 [2002] 73-87). We should, therefore, stress the difficulties and dangers inherent in supposing that these zones coincide with political borders, something which Fourrier herself emphasised (probably more clearly) in the past ('Le territoire des royaumes chypriotes archaïques: une esquisse de géographie historique', *Cahier du Centre d'Études Chypriotes* 32 [2002] 139-140). Here comes my only real reservation about the conclusions drawn by the author: based on the lack of a regional style for Tamassos and the homogeneity of its terracottas with Idalion, she reaches the conclusion that, most probably, the former was dependent on the latter city-kingdom during the Cypro-Archaic period (pp. 115, 119), something that is not supported by any further evidence. Conclusions relating the subordination, or not, of one polity to another, should not always be dependent on stylistic analysis.

In the last chapter, Fourrier, states clearly her influence by de Polignac's model, according to which the act of founding Greek - mostly extra-urban - sanctuaries expressed notions and intentions of territorial domination and sovereignty. She discusses the setting and function of the Cypriot Iron Age sanctuaries, which she divides in four main categories: urban, peri-urban, territorial and frontier. While, in what the author calls

urban, peri-urban and territorial sanctuaries, the material is mostly of local production, i.e. identical to those of a production centre, in the frontier sanctuaries the material is of a mixed variety, i.e. it combines styles from more than one city-kingdom. Extra-urban sanctuaries were directly linked to the political power of the Cypriot *basileis* (kings) and, consequently with the territorial formation of the city-kingdoms; lying either along long-distance communication routes, or along 'frontier zones', sanctuaries were in any case linked to the evolving socio-political and socio-economic dynamics. Moving beyond the Cypro-Archaic period, the study of Cypriot sacred landscapes within the lenses of their *longue durée* (from the Late Bronze Age to the Roman period), their transformations and their possible change of meanings, can successfully reinforce Fourrier's interpretation that the extra-urban sanctuaries played an important role in the political setting of the city-kingdoms: my views on this issue are further discussed in my article 'Cypriot Sacred Landscapes from *Basileis* to *Strategos*: Methodological and Interpretative Approaches' (in *POCA* 2005, edited by G. Papantonio, Oxford, 37-45), an extensive and more developed version of which will appear as a separate chapter in a forthcoming monograph. Nonetheless, I should state here that the formation of the Cypriot sacred landscapes cannot be reduced to a passive reflection of political and economic events. We should consider the possibility that the territorial significance of extra-urban sanctuaries in 'frontier zones', such as those of Arsos or Vavla-Kapsales, for instance, may be the result of social (including political) developments and human feelings which follow their foundation.

At this end, it has to be acknowledged that, as regards to the spatial setting of the Cypriot sanctuaries, Fourrier, throughout her research, was the first 'Cypriot scholar' to methodically observe and advocate the clear interconnection of the political and religious lives in Iron Age Cyprus. Venues for high-calibre and cutting-edge research have been inspired by Fourrier's success in offering the most meticulous and meaningful study of Cypro-Archaic terracottas in terms of understanding the island's convoluted Iron Age history by opening the door for new and innovative approaches to a difficult and poorly studied domain of ancient Cyprus. *La coroplastie chypriote archaïque* is an important volume that successfully addresses the political state model of Iron Age Cyprus. While it will enhance the collections of the libraries of institutions where ancient Cypriot history and archaeology are studied, it is bound to be of interest to scholars of eastern Mediterranean, particularly those working in the eastern Aegean.

Giorgos Papantoniou

ATHANASIOS D. RIZAKIS/FRANCESCO CAMIA (eds), *Pathways to Power. Civic Elites in the Eastern Part of the Roman Empire*. Proceedings of the International Workshop held at Athens Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene 19 december 2005. Athens: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, 2008. 310 pp., figs; 25 cm (Tripodes 6). – ISBN 978-960-98397-0-9/ISSN 1791-1850

For a long time modern scholars have been interested in the study of local elites in the Roman Empire, although we still have not come to a full understanding. The many contributions on individual members of the elites by for instance Werner Eck and Geza Alföldy in the past decades have shown us that regional, local, and individual differences should be taken into account when attempting to draw general conclusions about local elites. Both new epigraphical and archaeological findings and new methodological approaches offer inspiring additional avenues of interpretation. An international workshop, held in Athens (2005), focused on the functioning of civic elites, particularly in the cities of the eastern half of the Roman Empire. The volume under review offers the results of the papers presented at this workshop.

Cébeillac-Gervasoni opens the volume by outlining a research program of the CNRS since 1994, entitled 'Élites municipales italiennes de la République et de l'Empire'. This project has demonstrated that only with a team of scholars from different disciplines who all concentrate on different regions and issues one might be able to obtain an overall understanding of elites. The other contributions in the volume show how a regional focus in the eastern part of the empire (for instance on Achaia, or on cities such as Ephesos, Corinth and Aphrodisias) is similarly fruitful. These contributions can be arranged according to two themes: the role of elites within religious practices, especially the imperial cult, and the local representation of elites.

As to the first theme, since religion was a major part of civic life for all social classes, the role of elites within those religious practices is instructive for an understanding of their position within their community. As is well known, the leading families within local communities mostly dominated the priesthoods, because socially, politically and financially they were in best position to fulfill priesthoods. In the course of the first century the imperial cult became an important part of local religious life. It offered local elites not only an opportunity by which they could communicate exclusively with the imperial family, but also a way to improve their position of status and influence locally. Several contributions are exemplary for this process. Kantiréa analyzes the leading local family of Tiberius Claudius Polycrates in the second century in Sicyon that was involved in local and imperial priesthoods whereby her epigraphical reconstruction leads to a better embedding of the family within their local context. In his examination of Asiarchs and high priests in Ephesos, Kirbihler not only discusses the debate in modern scholarship about the terminology for *asiarch* and *archiereus*, but also focuses on their activities. They were of course part of processions during religious celebrations, but were also involved in the meetings of the provincial *koinon* and were expected to act as benefactors. Whereas we often assume that imperial priesthoods played a pivotal role in the careers of local elites, Camia argues that in Greece family and personal connections to Roman authorities functioned as the real springboards to higher positions.

Both Lo Monaco and Galli focus on individual emperors and their role within the imperial cult at local level. Lo Monaco examines the tension between the

mostly negative literary image of Nero and his role within the imperial cult and its festivities in Greece which offers a much more positive image. Galli's contribution describes how local cults incorporated worship of an emperor within their own practices, such as that in Athens for Hadrian who ended up 'sharing' the Olympieion with Zeus. Hupfloher shows similar merging traditions in her analysis of Corinth's pantheon with its diversity and mingling of old traditions and new phenomena. Incorporation of the imperial cult into existing local traditions suggests that local authorities continued to have a say in their religious practices. The analysis of deification and *damnatio memoriae* by Hoët-Couwenberghe shows a similar sentiment as she demonstrates how cities not always seem to have strictly followed official instructions from the imperial government, especially in the case of *damnatio*.

The second theme, (re)presentation of elites, concentrates on the ways in which local elites were embedded in local social structures. Pont's contribution on Aphrodisias in the High-Empire is a prime example of how modern study of elites has to take into account unique local features. Evidence from Aphrodisias shows an unusual weak connection between benefactions and magistracies contrary to evidence from other cities in Asia Minor. Similarly, Farrington's analysis of so-called *themides* - a particular type of games run by and competed in almost exclusively by the local elites - demonstrates how these games particularly in Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia offered an important status marker for local elites. Again, such evidence is lacking for other areas in Asia Minor.

Voutiras discusses the securely identified portrait of the famous sophist Herodes Atticus, which contrary to expectations perhaps is not the portrait of a typical philosopher, but one of a citizen, actively involved in public life. Furthermore, a second type of portrait supposedly of Herodes Atticus would make him unique as other private people in Athens are not known to have more than one type of portrait.

Finally, the volume also offers two contributions with a strong linguistic component. Zoumbaki examines *protos* and *proteuon* (defining leading members of society), their context and the way in which they relate to other terms equally applied to local leadership. Giannakopoulos investigates the honorary titles *hyios boules*, *hyios demous* and *hyios poleos* and demonstrates how these titles are connected to political activities and ideological representations of local elites.

Because the contributions are all linked to one of the themes, the editors Rizakis and Camia should be commended for having managed to present a coherent volume (always a difficult task with conference proceedings) which should be of interest for all of those who are interested in the functioning of local elites in the Roman Empire.

Daniëlle Slootjes

M. MEYER, *Die Personifikation der Stadt Antiocheia. Ein neues Bild für eine neue Gottheit*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006. xvi,+544 pp., 48 pls; 27.5 cm (Jahrbuch des DAI, 33. Ergänzungsheft). – ISBN 978-3-11-019110-3.

The statue type commonly referred to as the Tyche of Antioch was created during the early Hellenistic era for the Seleucid city of Antioch-on-the-Orontes, and was popular from that period onwards until late Antiquity. The original statue itself, which is said to have been created by a Lysippan sculptor called Eutychides, has not been preserved, but we have comments on its nature and meaning in (much later) texts of Pausanias and Malalas; and the type itself is widely distributed by means of all kind of media, especially on coins. A statue from the period of Hadrian, now in the Vatican (Galleria dei Candelabri), is commonly used to illustrate the original. It shows a female figure wearing a mural crown, who is seated with crossed legs on a rock and who is touching a swimming male below her with her right foot. In scholarly literature she is commonly referred to as City Tyche ('Stadttyche' in German) and the type as such (a woman wearing a mural crown) has been understood to represent a City Tyche par excellence from the early Hellenistic period onwards.

The impressive study by Marion Meyer deals with almost all aspects of the Tyche of Antioch in an exemplary way, and will undoubtedly become the standard reference and point of departure for all further research on the subject. Only religious aspects seem to be somewhat underplayed in the study, as M. herself also acknowledges. The voluminous book (541 pages with more than 2100 footnotes followed by almost 40 pages of illustrations, maps and tables) is part of the author's 1996 *Habilitation*. The manuscript was finished in 2002; other parts of the research (see below) will be published elsewhere. One of the author's novel conclusions is that the original statue was a personification of the city of Antioch, probably commissioned by one of the Seleucid kings, but that there are no indications that the type as such was perceived as Tyche until the Hadrianic period. But there is much more to be found and explored in this rich and dense study.

Chapter I ('Die frühhellenistische Bilderfindung') deals extensively with all aspects of the original. A combination of close reading of the argumentation from earlier research with a re-evaluation of the evidence leads M. to several new conclusions. The interpretation of the statue as a Tyche, for instance, rests on the Pausanias and Malalas passages alone and can, for the Hellenistic period, not be substantiated by any other evidence. Also regarding the supposed format of the (bronze) statue, the *communis opinio* looks debatable: most scholars assume that the original statue was colossal, but without much argument. Following this are discussions on date, style, iconography and meaning. The Tyche of Antioch is an exciting and original statue in many respects. Statues of seated figures often give a somewhat static impression, but here the crossed legs in particular provide an enormous dynamic that is enhanced by the composition as a whole. Original in the iconography are references to Antioch's topography by means of the mountain behind (the Silpios) and the personification of the river below (the Orontes), as well as the inclusion of a crown in the form of a city wall with towers for the figure itself. The city wall-crown has evoked much discussion, in particular because it is an element that is alien to the Greek world, but well known from the cultural milieus of Anatolia, Cyprus

and Asia Minor. M. extensively discusses possible reasons for the coming together of different cultural elements within a new 'Bild', and her book therefore is important for scholars dealing with the Seleucids or, more in general, processes of cultural interaction in the Hellenistic world. M. interprets the inclusion of the 'Eastern' city wall-crown in the iconography as a process of 'Aneignung'; one of the (possible) results of acculturation processes taking place in the early Hellenistic period. By taking this approach to the problem M. distances herself from an earlier interpretation by B. Fehr (*Visible Religion* 7, 1990, 83-97), who argued for the possibility of a (simultaneous) 'Eastern' and 'Greek' reading of the iconography, depending on the background of the viewer. M., however, sees the iconography as 'kompromißlos einsprachig' (151): the Seleucid king responsible for the statue wanted to communicate to all people from his (extremely multi-ethnic) Empire and he chose the 'Greek' visual language to do so (p. 156: 'Bilder für alle - das waren im Seleukidenreich des 3. Jhs. v.Chr. griechische Bilder'). Although the Chapter confronts the reader with a large amount of detailed evidence, it is well written (each time providing short summaries of the problem discussed before moving on to the next issue) and logically structured.

Chapter II ('Die Verwendung des Typus von spät-hellenistischer bis spätantiker Zeit') discusses, in about 150 pages, the distribution of the type, first in Antioch itself and next throughout the Mediterranean and the Near East at large. Throughout Antiquity the Tyche of Antiochia remained most popular in Antioch itself and in the surrounding Anatolian and Near Eastern regions, especially Cilicia and Syria. In her interpretation of the type in its many local contexts, M. makes a sensible distinction between 'Abbildungen', 'Nachbildungen' and 'Zitate'. The catalogue at the basis of this Chapter is printed at the end of the book and consists of the categories 'Rundplastik'; 'Rundplastik: Nachbildungen aus Bronze und Silber'; 'Werke aus Ton'; 'Werke aus Glas'; 'Reliefplastik'; 'Mosaik und Malerei'; 'Gemmen und Schmuck'; 'Siegelabdrücke'; one 'Nachantikes Werk', and three pieces sometimes ascribed to the type, but without reason. The largest part of the catalogue in quantitative terms, however, are the coins: 396 coin types show the Tyche of Antioch, and on top of that 54 coin types from cities in the Decapolis and Arabia display persons wearing a city wall-crown in combination with other figures. Mints using the Tyche of Antioch (around 90) can mainly be found in Asia Minor, but also in Europe. In her analysis of the application of the type, M. makes an important distinction between the late Hellenistic/early Imperial period (in which it would have been used to convey specific, local messages) and the later Imperial period (in which it would have been commemorative in a very general sense): a shift in meaning from a personification of the city of Antioch in particular, to a Tyche of a city.

Chapter III ('Zu Konzeption und Ikonographie der Stadttyche in hellenistischer Zeit') deals, more specifically, with the whole discussion on the concept of 'Stadttyche' in the Hellenistic period. No text mentioning the Tyche of a city has been preserved, but M. explores relevant historical contexts in combination

with archaeological evidence to come to a reconstruction of the development of the concept. Here, logically, the existence of a tradition distinguishing the personified Tyche of individual persons plays an important role; something M. sees happening from the period around 200 BC onwards.

Also part of the research, but not published in this book, were Chapters on (depictions of) the city-wall crown and its meaning in the ancient (pre Hellenistic) Near East and the Hellenistic period itself.

Miguel John Versluys

DOMINIQUE GERIN/ANGELO GEISSEN/MICHEL AMANDRY (eds), *Aegyptiaca certa in Soheir Bakhom memoriam. Mélanges de numismatique, d'iconographie et d'histoire*. Collezioni Numismatiche – Materiali pubblici e privati (collana diretta da Rodolfo Martini e Novella Vismara) 7. Milano: Bibliothèque nationale de France/Edizioni Ennerre, 2008. 288 pp., 31 pls; 28.5 cm. – ISBN 978-88-87235-64-4.

Soheir Bakhom, who passed away in 2003 at the age of only 56, was a well-known specialist on Alexandrian numismatics and this volume is a fitting *in memoriam* to her person and work. The beautifully produced book contains nineteen articles (seven in French, four in English, four in Italian and four in German) preceded by three hommages (including Bakhom's bibliography on pp. 17-19 and an essay on her own small collection of Alexandrian coins by D. Gerin, plates 1-5) and a foreword by J. Leclant.

The essays are grouped in four categories. The first one (*Questions d'identification*) has articles by O. Picard (*À la recherche du pentadrachme d'Héron d'Alexandrie*: on a specific coin type Heron of Alexandria describes as needed for a machine automatically distributing libation water); A. Burnett (*The Alexandrian Coinage of Caligula*: only one type, from which four rare examples have been preserved, can be attributed to the Alexandrian mint; it shows Caligula with a radiant crown and had no monetary/economic significance whatsoever), and B. Lichocka (*Un tétradrachme de Néron, dit "miroir de Néron", trouvé à Kôm el-Dikka à Alexandrie*: on an enigmatic find from 1987 of what turns out to be a tetradrachm originally showing Nero with radiant crown and Sarapis on the reverse side).

The second and largest category (*Trésors et fouilles*) contains eight articles. M. Amandry (*Un dépôt de monnaies alexandrines au Musée départemental d'Art, ancien et contemporain d'Épinal*) provides a list of a group of 33 Alexandrian coins dating from the second part of the 3rd century AD and now in the museum of Épinal (Lorraine, France). Although hoards of Alexandrian coins are known in the Roman world from Italy, Belgium and Denmark, this group has probably been brought from Egypt by a traveller during later periods. R. Martini (*Un nucleo di tetradracmi alessandrini di Probus della collezione Laffranchi, nelle Civiche Raccolte Numismatiche di Milano di "acquistato" Dattari*) adds with this article a group of 40 coins from the reign of Probus to his contribution to the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*,

Italia, Aegyptus III from 1992. Next, M. Seif el Din M., M. Shahin and T. Faucher (*Un trésor de monnaies ptolémaïques en bronze au Musée gréco-romain, d'Alexandrie: le trésor de Nag Hammadi* 1937) present an unpublished group of 80 bronze Ptolemaic coins from the region of Nag Hammadi (in upper Egypt), probably a hoard, all showing Zeus Ammon and now in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (GRM P.5048). A subsequent article (M. Seif el Din M., F. El Maghrabi, *Coins from Nag Hammadi in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria*) publishes another group from that region, consisting of 264 bronze coins dating from the end of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 4th century AD (GRM P.6639). The essay by H.-C. Noeske (*Der Münzschatz von Abu al-Gud und einige Überlegungen zum Hortungsverhalten im kaiserzeitlichen Ägypten*) is somewhat more wide ranging (pp. 113-153). Noeske provides a new and corrected list of the Abu al-Gud hoard - found near Luxor in 1968 and consisting of 233 Alexandrian billion tetradrachms from the Roman imperial period - and investigates on the basis of that evidence questions about chronology and economic functioning. M. Shahin (*A Hoard of Alexandrian Billion Tetradrachms found in 1967 in Kom Aushim*) publishes a hoard, already found in 1967, from ancient Karanis. The coins date from the 1st century AD, mainly from Nero's time. A.R. Parente (*Monete da Bakchias. Campagne di scavo 2003-2007*) provides an overview of the coins found by the Italian mission in Bakchias, in the Fayum, in recent excavations. M.-C. Marcellesi (*La série romaine tardive d'Alexandrie aux types de Sarapis et du Nil*), lastly, takes up the interesting question on the dating and meaning of a series of late-antique coins showing Sarapis and the Nile god. Six new coins of this type have been found in recent excavations in Alexandria. Similar examples from Antioch and Nicomedia show a Tyche in stead of the Nile god. The use of these pagan symbols would be remarkable in the Christian period, and scholars like J. Van Heesch have therefore brought these coins in connection with anti-Christian politics taking place at the beginning of the 4th century AD. Convincingly, however, Marcellesi dates the coins to the period 294-317 AD (for Alexandria) and 310-320 AD (for Antioch) and argues that the depiction of Nile and Tyche are linked with civic identity.

The third category (*Iconographie*) consists of six more interpretative articles which draw in other categories of evidence apart from coins alone. F. Queyrel (*La Pseudo-Cléopâtre de la Maison du Diadumène à Délos*) continues his investigations of the iconography of Cleopatra VII and convincingly argues here that the portrait of a woman found at Delos does *not* represent the Ptolemaic queen. He discusses the context in which the statue was found (the house is named after the find of a copy of the Diadumenus of Polyclitus) and sees this as a very rich and large mansion or perhaps even the seat of a *collegium*. The portrait dates from the period before 69 BC and would thus present a fine example of the 'image *bourgeoise*' of that era. Queyrel suggests that Cleopatra VII draws on that image in her iconography, and thus have would herself displayed as "reine et femmes d'affaires" alike. A contribution by L. Bricault and R. Veymiers (*Un portrait de Néron doté du sistre isiaque*) conveniently brings together all evidence on the relations between Nero and Egypt based on the publication of a

remarkable intaglio which shows a portrait of the emperor holding a *sistrum*, the Isiac marker par excellence in the Roman world. In their conclusion the authors intelligently distinguish between cultic and cultural interpretations: although they characterise Nero as 'égyptophile', there (indeed) is no evidence to see him as an Isis devotee and the *sistrum* on the intaglio could have been applied for various other reasons. A. Geissen (*Sabina-Demeter-Isis. Eine Klarstellung*) presents all Alexandrian coins showing Sabina, the wife of Emperor Hadrian. G.M. Staffieri and M. Tosi (*La barca sacra di Osiris nella monetazione alessandrina*) do the same with regard to the Osiris barge and boat processions (unfortunately not taking into account the considerations by P.G.P. Meyboom in their interpretation, *The Nile Mosaic of Palestrina* (Leiden 1995) pp. 136-146). F. Barakat (*Zu Agathos Daimon und seinen Darstellungen in der alexandrinischen Kunst*) lists some depictions of Agathos Daimon from Alexandria (for the subject see now extensively M. Malaise, *Pour une terminologie et une analyse des cultes isiaques* (Bruxelles 2005) 159-176). M. Weber (*Aegyptus in Nummis*) discusses two separate subjects. He argues that the ram displayed on Ptolemaic coins showing Alexander refers to Amun/Ammon and not, as is sometimes thought, to Chnum; and next discusses a very interesting tetradrachm from the time of Trajan that would display Isis next to the schematically indicated tomb of Osiris (for which see above).

The fourth and final category (*Histoire des études alexandrines*) contains two articles (E. Christiansen, Dattari, Milne, Currelly and 30-40,000 Alexandrian Coins and A. Savio, *Giovanni Dattari "egittologo"*) on the Italian collector Giovanni Dattari who, at the beginning of the 20th century, compiled a large and important collection of Greco-Roman coins from Egypt that is now dispersed across several countries and museums.

This is a rich volume in many respects and an important contribution to Alexandrian numismatics.

Miguel John Versluys

PATRICIA S. LULOF, *Architectural Terracottas in the Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Stichting, 2007. VIII+118 pp., 33 figs, 32 pls+VI color pls; 31 cm (Collection of the Allard Pierson Museum 2). – ISBN 978-90-71211-40-9.

Patricia S. Lulof, one of the leading specialists in the field of architectural terracottas of ancient Italy, has written the definitive catalogue of the collection of architectural terracottas held in the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam. Lulof had previously published a ground-breaking book, *The Ridge-Pole Statues from the Late Archaic Temple at Satricum* (Amsterdam 1996), in which her careful documentation of every fragment allowed reconstruction drawings of ten life-size statues that decorated the ridge of Temple II at Satricum. Her identification and reconstruction drawings of the fragments of bases for these statues settled once and for all the question of whether such statues were votive dedications that stood on the ground or architectural embellishments on the roof. She is inter-

ested in every aspect of architectural terracotta studies, from technology to the iconography and meaning of figural terracotta elements for the buildings they decorated, and possesses an exceptional talent for drawing that makes her unique in the field. She has successfully co-organized and co-edited two of the four pivotal conferences on architectural terracottas in ancient Italy, and has numerous projects in progress, including the final publication of the roofs of Satricum, co-authored with Riemer Knoop. Thus, she is eminently qualified to publish the Amsterdam collection of architectural terracottas.

The collection encompasses roof elements from the Archaic period through Roman times, with various different types of elements represented (revetment plaques, antefixes, spouts, acroteria, pedimental sculpture, and tiles, as well as moulds for producing antefixes). Examples come from Asia Minor, Greece, Southern Italy and Sicily, Etruria, Latium, and Campania, giving the full spectrum of ancient roofing systems, a surprising result since the collection was not formed with this intention in mind, but is rather the result primarily of purchases of private collections and of gifts to the museum. While many of the pieces have duplicate counterparts in other museums and/or from documented excavations, a number are unique and especially important, such as the moulds, which illustrate so well the means of production of multiple examples of decorated elements needed for individual roofs.

The publication is a model for presentations of collections for this category of antiquities. In addition to providing full descriptions and discussions of each item, each piece is well illustrated by clear photographs of front and side views (and in several cases also the back view), and drawings illustrating all details of the moulded decoration, the breaks, and sections, made by the author, an important supplement to the photographic documentation which is rarely available in studies of this kind. Color photographs of special pieces amply demonstrate the remains of painted decoration and even the terracotta fabric of the piece. Comparisons are fully documented for each example and the bibliography is up-to-date and very comprehensive.

Each section of the catalogue is preceded by a general discussion of roofs of the period and geographical area as a whole, as well as of the category of roof element that follows, giving a history of scholarship and forming both an introduction and a framework into which the museum pieces are then integrated and given context, an important feature as many of the objects have no known provenance. Within each entry, further comments on the individual piece go into more explicit detail of the state of our knowledge on the type and the basis for dating.

Of particular importance in this catalogue in comparison with earlier catalogues of this category of antiquities is a persistent focus on technical matters, from careful descriptions of the fabric (both clays and inclusions) and paints, and manufacturing processes (hand-made vs. mouldmade, generations of moulds, evidence for use of separate moulds for different parts of the same piece), to discussions of distribution of moulds and types from one center to another. This discussion is well served by the inclusion of side and back views,

and drawings that illustrate how the antefixes were attached to the cover tiles, angles at which the roof element sat, slanted edges of revetment plaques that tell the slope of the roof, etc.

Another important feature is inclusion of discussion of what the decoration meant in terms of the building to which it belonged. Again, full control of bibliography concerning these issues over the widely ranging dates and geographical areas encompassed by the collection is apparent, drawing in different hypotheses proposed by other scholars and defending the most credible of them. The changing fates of centers of production apparent in swelling or dwindling amounts of terracotta roofs are explained by historical factors impacting on the life of the city in question.

The author's expertise and enthusiasm for her field of specialization comes through on every page of the catalogue. In providing us with this publication of the Allard Pierson Museum's collection of architectural terracottas, she has given us an encapsulated history of terracotta roofing throughout the ancient Mediterranean world.

Nancy A. Winter

ASHER OVADIAH/SONIA MUCZNIK, *Worshipping the Gods. Art and Cult in Roman Eretz-Israel*. Leiden: Alexandros Press, 2009. 328 pp., LVIII colour figs +414 b/w figs; 24.5 cm. – ISBN 978-90-8064769-5.

The orientation of the Israeli academy was long dominated by the study of the monotheistic sources and context. 'Foreign cults' were conceived interesting only in terms of their interaction with monotheism. The study of antiquity in Palestine somehow missed 'the pagan side of the story'. The few scholars who have a true Classical orientation, succeeded from time to time to shine with the torch of Demeter upon the domination of polytheistic elements in urban centers, but those religions always retained the monolithic status of 'the foreign', not to mention 'the inferior'. *Worshipping the Gods* is thus an important collection of archaeological remains and literary sources that can serve as a base for a research that moves towards accepting the position of polytheistic cults and shifting the view towards understanding the Hellenisation of those cults in a region that is dominated by Jewish existence.

As the title indicates, *Worshipping the Gods* focuses upon evidence of polytheistic cults in Roman Palestine. Archeological remains and artistic visual testimonies are most important for identifying religious activity. The combination of these with literary sources forms a unique combination which is essential for creating a full and reliable reconstruction of religious life in antiquity. The book *Worshipping the Gods* has both components, but still misses the opportunity to create a flowing, coherent narrative.

The introduction defines the main aim of the book as creating a catalogue of the local cults. And this has been executed by Ovadiah and Mucznik meticulously. The book collects and presents material in an alphabetic order of deities, starting with Aphrodite ending with Zeus. Undoubtedly, the two authors invested an immense effort in the collection of the material: the

amount of pagan imagery that was brought to light by archaeological excavations in Israel through the decades is enormous. Most of it was published in various journals and excavation reports, but no systematic collection has hitherto been attempted. The collection of literary sources is even more surprising. Palestine was not a prominent province and references to it in Roman literature are few. The book includes a treasure of references from the Roman literature concerning the various cults, in the context of its presence in Palestine and its cities. As far as I know, this is the only attempt made hitherto to collect such references and to bring them in relation to the archaeological finds. Curiously, the study does not pose any specific question in relation to the collected material. It had the potential to shed light upon the Hellenisation of the polytheistic cults in the East, create a new definition for that element in society and a new insight into the non-Jewish cultural network of large, mostly urban, communities in Palestine. But these expectations apparently surpassed the aim of the authors. On the other hand, the authors clearly struggled with certain methodological questions, such as the definition of criteria that define a cult and indicate its existence (assuming that solely the existence of a sculpture of a certain divinity does not indicate yet the existence of its cult).

Unfortunately, the choice for an alphabetic approach distorts the discussion in the phenomenon of syncretism, so often stressed by the content of the book. It is mentioned more than once that Astarte and Ba'al were identified with Aphrodite and Zeus respectively. But when did this process of Hellenisation of local cults take place? What is this identification based on? And in what way can such identifications deepen our understanding regarding the nature of the cult of a local deity? Especially in those cases where a local deity retained its autochthonous cult deep into the Roman period it seems that the cult fulfilled a religious need that was not satisfied by the Hellenistic alternative. Which aspects are these? And is the cliché identification of Ba'al/Zeus/Jupiter then still valid? A more nuanced approach towards the developments that took place in the local religion would have the potential to shed more light on the Hellenisation of eastern cults and create a fascinating, innovative narrative.

Despite all this, *Worshipping the Gods* marks a change of attitude in the effort to contribute to the understanding of polytheistic cults in Israel, which is an important statement in itself. The book offers a firm starting-point for future investigation, with an epilogue that summarizes the central issues such as 'statistics' of popularity of certain cults, the domination of certain cults in certain cities or regions, and the preference for a certain aspect of a divinity (and its iconography) by the local worshippers. With this rich material, the future scholar can deepen the investigation into the polytheistic existence in Palestine, its development and continuation, at times deep into the Christian era.

Diklah Zohar

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